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BANTU AND NORTH AUSTRALIAN: A STUDY IN AGGLUTINATION

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SYNOPSIS

This paper criticizes Doke's classification of Bantu languages in African Studies, *Vol. 9, No. 1. Comparisons are made with a number of structurally very similar languages in North Australia (not usually known to Africanists, but of interest to them). These would be classified as "agglutinative with a tendency to inflexion". Doke's use of the term "agglutination" and more especially "infixation" is discussed. The view is put forward that both these terms are used in a manner unusual amongst linguists, and it is suggested that if the terms are given their usual connotation, the Bantu languages will also be grouped as "agglutinating with a tendency to inflexion" and not* vice versa.

INTRODUCTION

THE OUTSIDER often sees more of the game than the players, and it is a risky thing to generalize from one, or even a group of related languages. This seems to be the difficulty with the paper presented by Professor C. M. Doke in *African Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1, March 1950, under the title, "Bantu languages, inflexional with a tendency towards agglutination". The present paper offers some thoughts on the subject of this classification, with a different approach to the definitions of agglutination and infixing. The writer is occupied with the study and teaching of Australian and general Oceanic languages in the University of Sydney, Australia. As regards Bantu studies he is therefore an outsider, but he feels that he does see more of the game than sometimes the players within it do. Although he has done some generalized study of the Bantu languages both at the School of African and Oriental Studies in London and privately, his own field work has been done entirely in the fields of Australia and Oceania. If he therefore presumes to discuss Professor Doke's paper, it is because he considers that something ought to be said about it from the viewpoint of general linguistic terminology. Terminology is an important thing. Linguistic science should ultimately be a unity, no matter in what branch a particular student may be working. It is therefore desirable that a unified terminology should be developed, and if for any reason one's reading crosses the boundary of one's own particular province (as surely it ought sometimes to do), each should be able to understand quite clearly what the other is saying.

Now it seems to the writer that Professor Doke has reached his classification of Bantu, which is unusual, because he has used two important terms in unusual senses, viz., the terms "agglutination" and "infixation". He is entitled to criticize Professor Werner's conclusions only if he uses her terms in her own sense, and this he has not done. Her senses of the terms in question are those of the average linguist both in this part of the world and in America.

First of all, what is agglutination? Professor Doke gives two definitions which do not harmo-

nize with each other. First he says "agglutinative languages are those in which grammatical features are expressed by the combining or adhesion of formative elements to the various roots, these formative elements being always recognizable as independent words detachable from the root, and capable of being affixed to other roots, or even to stand alone in the sentence." It is not ordinarily required of the affixes of an agglutinative language that they should be "even able to stand alone in the sentence". This seems to the writer to be asking more of agglutinative languages than can reasonably be asked: no wonder that very few survive the test. At a later stage in his paper, Professor Doke provides a different definition: "agglutination is a type of compounding in language in which the elements are still recognized and recognizable as entities even in the compound" (p. 7). This is completely in line with such a definition, for instance, as that given by J. R. Firth in *Tongues of Men*, p. 88: "Meanings by invariable and separate root; relations by specific affixes; c. each job. Formula $a+a+R+a+a+a$ (where a=affix and R=root). E.g. Turkish, Swahili, Tamil, Korean."

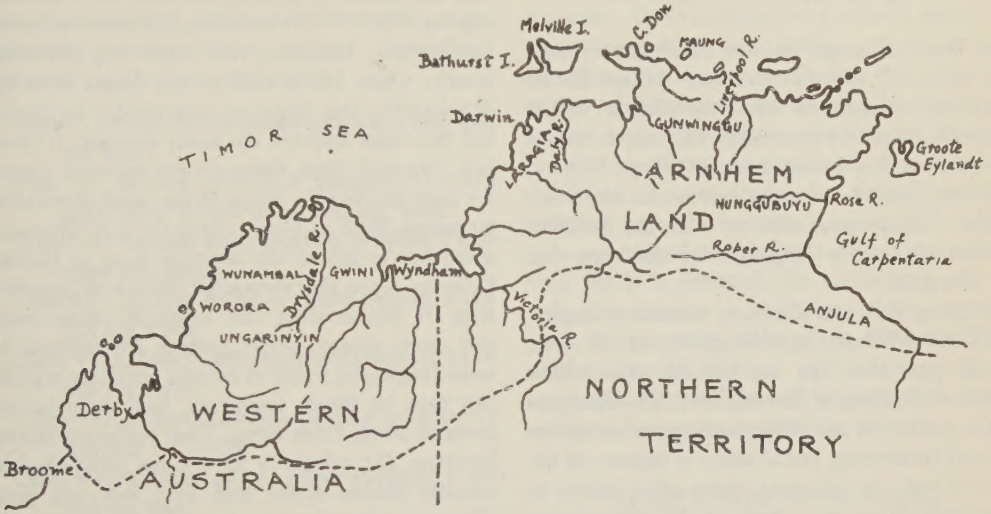
Firth uses Swahili as an example—, a Bantu language, and the definition seems to apply very well, although it is also to be admitted, with Doke, that inflexional processes are beginning to show themselves in Bantu. The essential feature of agglutinative languages is not just the presence of formative elements that can be recognized, but the fact that they can be added to one another in an often seemingly interminable series, till quite long words are produced. These words differ from the "portmanteau words" of Eskimo—and some Australian languages, as will appear later—in several important respects, and the term "polysynthetic" is at best applicable only to a subdivision of agglutinative languages. If "agglutinative" is taken in the second sense, which the writer holds to be much the commoner, then the position of Bantu is really reversed—the Bantu languages are agglutinative with a tendency towards inflexion. A good deal will depend—in fact the bulk of the argument—on the discussion of "infixation" also, which Professor Doke uses in a manner still more divergent from its commoner use.

Of course, it is extremely necessary to remember always, as Doke does, that no language can be put entirely under one heading, but that all cross the broad lines of classification and exhibit elements of other types than that under which they are predominantly classified.

NORTH AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES

It so happens that in north and north-west Australia there is a group of languages that bear a very close structural resemblance to the Bantu languages, along with some significant differences. They proceed on the principle of noun-classification with an alliterative concord, just like the Bantu languages ; in fact some of the more complicated are more thorough-going in the concord than Bantu. These languages do not exhibit so close a relationship to each other as Bantu languages, especially in the matter of vocabulary, and there are no doubt historical reasons which have not yet been unearthed for this divergence. Moreover, they are broken territorially by a number of languages which do not conform to the type. It has become customary to speak of these languages as "multiple classifying languages", because the languages that break their territories often have only two noun-classes (like the Romance languages) and are called "dual classifying", while some again have no classification at all, while conforming in general structure to the type, especially in that they work largely by prefix, whereas all other Australian languages, all over the continent, work entirely by suffix. A map is appended to enable those who are not familiar with this field to orientate themselves. The most complete classifying languages are those of Groote Eylandt and Rose River (Nuŋgubuyu), with the Anjula to the east and Maung to the north-west.—A brief description of the characteristics of these languages will show the points in which they agree in structure with the Bantu, and also allow of elucidation of the term "agglutinative language".

An example may be taken from the language of Groote Eylandt. The following sentences will show the extent and nature of the concord in this language. The root is left in italics, the alliterative prefixes are in roman type.[1]



Map showing some of the classifying languages in North and North-West Australia
(Dotted line shows southern boundary of prefixing languages)

Class I: Ni-*miebina* nini-*mi:gara* *nana*-mamalja na-*ŋaba* ni-*duruŋana* niŋe:ni-*riŋga?* Ni-*ŋamba* na-*mbilja?* What is the name of that big man I saw? Where is he sitting?

Class II: Wuna-*miebina* wunini-*mi:gara* wana-*mamalja* wuna-*mbiljuma* wunala-*naba* wuna-*duruŋana* niŋara-*riŋga?* Wunala-*ŋamba* wu-*bilja?* What are the names of those two big men I saw? Where are they sitting?

Class III: Wura-*miebina* wuni-*mi:gara* wana-*mamalja* wanu-*ŋaba* wura-*duruŋana* ni-ŋara-*riŋga?* Wura-*ŋamba* na-*mbilja?* What are the names of those big men I saw? Where are they sitting?

Class IV: Da-*miebina* dada-*mi:gara wudáriŋga* da-*ŋaba* da-*duruŋana* naŋaŋa-*riŋga?* Da-*ŋamba* iŋa-*mbilja?* What is the name of that big woman I saw? Where is she sitting?[2]

Class V: Wurŋa-*miebina* wurŋada-*mi:gara* wurŋa-*dáriŋga*-gia wurŋala-*mbiljuma* wurŋala-*ŋaba* wurŋa-*duruŋana*-gia naŋaralaraga-*riŋga?* Wurŋala-*ŋamba* narŋa-*mbilja?* What are the names of those two big women I saw? Where are they sitting?

Class VI: A-*miebina* a-*mi:gara agwalja* a-*ŋaba* a-*duruŋana* niŋa-*riŋga?* A-*ŋamba* na-*mbilja?* What is the name of that big fish I saw? Where is it?

Class VII: Ma-*miebina* ma-*mi:gara midjiaŋ* ma-*ŋaba* ma-*duruŋana* niŋama-*riŋga?* Ma-*ŋamba* numa-*mbilja?* What is the name of that big boat I saw? Where is it?

Class VIII: Yi-*miebina* yini-*mi:gara yaraidja* ya-*ŋaba* ya-*duruŋana* niŋana-*riŋga?* Yi-*ŋamba* na-*mbilja?* What is the name of that big iguana I saw? Where is it?

[1] Spelling : The plosives are written *b*, *d*, *g*, and are "devoiced", i.e. acoustically intermediate between voiced and voiceless. A dot under a consonant marks a cerebral consonant. *Y* is used here in its English value, but a *j* after a consonant marks palatalization (*nj* = *ñ*). In the western languages quoted, *r* is the untrilled cerebral *r* of American English, as distinct from the true flapped cerebral *r* and the rolled alveolar *r*. The colon (:) indicates vowel length. There is no use made of semantic tone. The phonetic system is remarkably uniform throughout Australia, whatever the language-type. The plosives are always "devoiced" and sibilants are lacking.

[2] Plurals of the feminine group are put in Class III with the males.

Class IX: Wura-*miebina* wana-*mi:gara wurudjaidja* wura-*ŋaba* wura-*duruŋana* niŋara-*riŋga?* Wura-*ŋamba* na-*mbilja?* What is the name of that big dog I saw? Where is it?

In these languages context decides the plurals and duals of any but personal nouns. Hence there are no separate forms for Classes V–IX. Class IX, that of most major animals, is almost the same as the personal plural (Class III).

A note needs to be made here about the scope of the various noun-classes. The big contrasts between Australian languages of this type and the Bantu are:

1. There are fewer classes in Australian languages. Groote Eylandt and Nuŋgubuyu have nine; as one goes west the number decreases, till a dialect of Wunambal has only four. The readjustments needed in assigning nouns to other classes are very interesting, but if study is begun—as the writer's was—in the west, there often seems to be neither rhyme nor reason in the assignments. Of the ideal scopes, something will be said below.

2. Plurals are formed only for persons, and in general very few of the languages have a dual number except in the pronoun and the verb, but where these exist, they have been reckoned as separate Classes.

3. It is most unusual for Australian nouns to carry a sign of the class to which they belong. When they do it is part of the morpheme, i.e. the class-prefix used in the concord is not normally part of the noun itself, as the Groote Eylandt examples have shown. Where it does so occur, it is usually one consonantal phoneme (sometimes a vowel) which cannot be omitted. Thus in Gwini, *molŋana* "river" is a single morpheme; it is not *m* + *olŋana*.

The ideal scope of the classes in present day Groote Eylandt speech is as follows: Class I contains the names of male persons; Class II is its dual and Class III its plural, but serves also as the plural of Class IV. Class IV contains the names of female persons and of some birds and animals, and its dual is given by Class V. The Plural (Cl. III) applies, of course, only to the female persons, not to the birds. Class VI is for inanimate objects as a whole, some fish, trees, most parts of the body, and the heavenly bodies except sun and moon. Class VII contains the sun, sea, shore, ships, lily root and most wooden objects; Class VIII the moon, the lesser animals, implements, weapons, and some miscellaneous words; Class IX is that of the larger animals. Incidentally, this disproves a statement by Meinhof that class and sex are never crossed; if there is a "human" class, there are not separate classes for male and female. Some of the north Australian languages, such as Gwini, have the one "human" class, but in others the situation is as in Groote Eylandt. Again this shows the danger of generalizing. It would seem that originally there were still more classes—some prefixes are retained in some languages, some in others, with less regularity than in Bantu languages, but there is not space to develop this theme. That the noun classes, however, did originally have some psychological concept behind them, and were not just pure alliterations based on the first consonant of nouns (as seems to be the case in Heiban Nuba) is demonstrated by the fact that in some instances a stem can belong to more than one class, and take various prefixes with different meanings, as in such Bantu instances as e.g. Luganda *m-buzi*, a goat, but *ka-buzi*, a small goat; *ga-buzi*, a large goat; *ki-buzi*, a short fat goat; *lu-buzi*, a tall thin goat; or Swahili *m-tu*, a person, but *ji-tu*, a very large person, and other cases. Some interesting examples occur in North Australia in Maung:

i-mawur, a human arm
u-mawur, arm of a river
ma-mawur, branch of a tree
ab-awur, tendril of vine.

Or again, *i-yiyi*, a tooth, but *wu-yiyi*, a crack in the ground, and *ma-yiyi*, a splinter of wood; or *yumbuli*, the face, but *mumbuli*, the end of a stick. Even words that are not strictly nouns, though they may serve as such, can undergo interesting changes of meaning with the various class prefixes:

i-wadbadi, having close-cropped hair
u-wadbadi, bare, of ground
maŋ-adbadi, leafless, of trees
ag-adbadi, tuberless, of yams.

The original ideas behind these classes are very obvious in such examples, even if by the time the western Kimberley Division is reached it seems very hard to find any ideas at all.

In Laragia, the language of Darwin district, now almost extinct, suffixes are used with nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, instead of prefixes, but prefixes are used with verbs:

Class I: *ba:nam bilŏva gunba guligiva.* I saw this big man.
Class II: *ba:nam bi'la:bira galidjbira gunbira gulige:gira.* I saw these two big men.
Class III: *ba:nam bilira gunbira guligira.* I saw these big men.
Class IV: *da:nam bälbä:ḷa gunda guligila.* I saw this big stone.
Class V: *ma:nam damŏrmà gunma guligima.* I saw this big river.
Class VI: *ga:nam ga:ruwa guŋgwa guligiwa.* I saw this big water.
Class VII: *ga:nam biliŋga gunba guligiva.* I saw this big dog.

Even the groupings of nouns, especially the resemblance of Class VII to Class I (as Classes I and IX in Groote Eylandt) are very similar to those found in the other multiple-classifying languages. The possibility of using an agglutinative element as either prefix or suffix must not be forgotten as part of the idea of agglutination. In some words in Laragia both prefix and suffix are used, e.g. the possessive forms for "name": *ŋaiaŋa*, my name; *niana*, your name; *biamba*, his name, with other class forms of 3rd person *diala*, *maiama*, *gwiagwa*. This "prefix prossessive concord", involving first and second persons, as well as the classes of the third person, extends to all the words of a language that are affected by class normally.

At the same time there is true inflexion in conjugations of both Laragia and other languages, e.g. person prefixes vary for tense or aspect: Laragia *ŋana-ni*, I-sit, *gwela ŋiwi-ni*, I am not sitting; a different prefix is used. Thus these languages are in precisely the same position as Bantu, i.e. agglutinating, with a tendency towards inflexion. By and large, in fact, all these examples are not extraneous, even though they come from a different continent from the Bantu, but serve to show the essential similarity in general structure between the Bantu languages and the multiple-classifying languages of North Australia. There is therefore a certain amount of common ground for testing of hypotheses. Of course, there is no implication that these two groups of languages are genetically related; in fact, it seems possible to demonstrate that the multiple-classifying languages of Australia have developed *in situ* from the normal classless, suffixing type of Australian language. The writer is in process of working out such a demonstration, but it is not ready for publication yet.

It now remains to show how these languages treat the processes adduced by Professor Doke as examples of inflexion and infixation. At the same time comparisons will be given with aspects of Bantu languages omitted by him.

AFFIXATION IN GENERAL

In order to avoid begging the question as to "agglutination" or not, the term affixation will be used at this stage. In general it may be said that Australian languages of this type show by prefix such elements as person of subject and object, and adverbial modifications of the verb. They show by suffix tense, mood, and voice, with the exception that as already shown in Laragia, some of the person elements change for these as well. In this there is true inflexion in these Australian languages, as in Bantu. The only other preliminary remark to be made is that these languages are not nearly so well known as the Bantu languages, and for this reason most of the examples are taken from the languages of the Northern Kimberley Division of Western Australia, where the writer's most thorough fieldwork has been done. The principles, however, appear to be the same in each region, though the details differ probably more than they do in the various Bantu languages.

First and foremost the question of infixes must be faced, for it is by calling certain of the prefixes infixes that Doke makes the Bantu languages

mainly inflexional. In his terminology an infix is "an affix inserted within a word". He treats only the first of any series of prefixes to a root as a prefix. Thus he calls Zulu *–nga–* a "negative infix", and gives as an example *uku-nga-ɓoni*, not to see. This is a clear example of Firth's formula $a + a + R$ (in this case R modified as to its final vowel), and not an infix at all. The term infix is generally used of a syllable inserted (usually) after the first consonant of the stem itself. The Indonesian languages provide extremely good examples of this process, which does not occur at all in Bantu. In the Indonesian languages *–um–* and *–in–* are in many cases living infixes. Thus in Tagalog (Luzon, Philippines):

putul, the idea of cutting
p-um-utul, one who cuts
p-in-utul, something cut
i-p-in-utul, something cut with
p-in-u-utul-an, something cut on or from.

The entire conjugation in Tagalog is carried out with these forms, plus only reduplication of the first syllable and a number of further prefixes. Similar forms are found in other Philippine languages, e.g. Imbatan, *k-um-an*, eating. Javanese examples are shown in the use of *–um–* to form definite verbs from a neutral root, e.g. *laku*, a going > *l-um-aku*, go; *gegö*, holding fast > *g-in-egö*, being held fast. The same system is found sporadically in Melanesia, e.g. Kuanua (Rabaul, New Britain) *ubu*, fight > *var-ubu*, fight each other > *v-in-ar-ubu*, warfare; Roviana (Western Solomons) *zama*, say > *z-in-am*, what is said, a word; *kera*, sing > *k-in-era*, a song.

If a term is to be really useful, it must be kept to one meaning, and if general linguistics is to be a world-wide science, its terminology ought to be uniform throughout. It is therefore wise to keep the term "infix" for phenomena of this particular type, i.e. where a syllable is inserted after the first consonant of the root or base. In this sense it would be implied that Doke's Zulu example *uku-ɓona* was a single word, whereas in fact it consists of two morphemes, *uku–* and *–ɓona*. Even then it would be very irregular "infixation".

What, then, of the syllables which Professor Doke has put under the heading "infix"? It is surely better to regard these as also prefixes, like the person sign or the infinitive sign which comes first in the word. A Bantu language, as those in many other parts of the world, can take a long series of prefixes in addition to certain suffixes added simultaneously after the root, until such a "portmanteau word" as Lunyoro *tinkakimuherayoga*, "I have never given it to him there" is constructed to grace the grammar book and discourage the student. There is no essential difference between the word-building processes of Turkish—or Tamil for that matter—and Bantu and North Australian, and these are the processes to which the term "agglutination" as defined by J. R. Firth, is normally applied.

Like the Bantu languages, those of the multiple-classifying group in North Australia are in this sense primarily agglutinating, with a minimum of inflexion. In these, too, it is possible to add a series of prefixes to the stem, e.g. Gunwinggu, *ŋari-ben-djäl-djarg-mane-yime-i*, we all together used to keep on telling them. In this compound, *ŋari–* is 1st plural exclusive; *–ben–*, 3rd plural personal object; *–djäl–*, habitual action; *–djarg–*, action in a group; *–mane–*, indirect object, any person or number determined by the preceding direct object, in this case *–ben–*; main root, *–yime–*, to say; *-i*, suffix of continued action. Each occurs in this fixed order. This type of formation is a complete parallel to the Nyoro example given above, and it is a normal process of word-formation in Australian languages. Of course suffixing languages use all suffixes, not a group of prefixes as well. There is no reason, however, to call any of these affixes "infixes". Australian languages do not know the true "infix". Neither, for that matter, do Bantu languages.

As already stated, the order of these affixes is definite, just as in the Bantu languages. In Australian languages of the prefixing type, suffixation is used to show tense, voice and mood. There is no passive voice, but a reflexive voice, which in one or two instances, such as Worora, seems to be developing into a passive, as it did in the

Scandinavian languages. The passive is normally expressed in other ways:

1. A third person plural active may be used: Worora, *yagun njinondju*, they will hate you, you will be hated.
2. Auxiliary verbs are used, e.g. "go": Gwini, *debad aŋga*, he went dead, he died, he was killed; Ungarinyin, *mara awiŋga*, he fell seen, he was seen, shows the auxiliary *ŋa-wa-n*, I fall. Cf. English, the fruit went bad. In Worora, *ŋuru njumindaŋga*, she felt, lit., feeling she brought herself. Of course, no agent can be expressed this way; if an agent has to be mentioned, Method 1 must be used.

AUSTRALIAN AGGLUTINATION

The really agglutinative nature of Australian languages is illustrated by the suffix which in Ungarinyin shows the dual number. This consists of the morpheme alternants *njiri* ~ *ri*. The former follows a consonantal ending, the latter a vowel ending. The alternation is on the morphophonemic level. So the series of the dual number in three different situations can be shown as follows:

	PRONOUNS	"DO"	"FALL"
1st incl.	*ŋarunnjiri*	*ŋadmari*	*ŋariwannjiri*
1st excl.	*njärunnjiri*	*njädmari*	*njäriwannjiri*
2.	*nurunnjiri*	*gudmari*	*gurwannjiri*
3.	*bannjiri*	*budmari*	*burwannjiri*

In the past tense, with the suffix *–ni*, we fell, is *ŋarun ŋarwani*, we two fell, *nar-wani-ri*, we three fell, *ŋar-wani-na* (as against present *ŋarwannji-na*, we three are falling). Here there is no question of true inflexion, such as Doke sees in the various Bantu suffixes. In the Bantu instance also it is really doubtful whether one has not to do with morphophonemic alternants rather than with true inflexion, for in the Bantu suffixes, the suffix itself is fixed, but the exact form of it depends on the final phoneme of the verb and the manner of its juncture with the initial phoneme of the suffix. This fact is amply illustrated by Doke in his article. In some of the Northern Australian languages, however, ambiguity can arise as to whether the subject or object or both is in the dual. This is usually avoided by the form of the prefix, as in Worora, *g-undjuŋa-naŋga-ndu*, he-said-to-them-two, where the prefix *g–* defines the 3rd singular, Class I. This is not always the case.

All this, of course, is on the synchronic level; the complete absence of earlier materials makes any diachronic study of Australian languages on the basis of documentary evidence impossible. Bantu is somewhat better off than Australian in this regard.

At this point it is well to mention one extremely interesting feature of the Australian languages under consideration which is entirely absent from Bantu. This is the possibility of setting the *noun* object as well as the pronoun within the body of the verbal compound. This occurs in Mexican, also; Nahuatl *sotsi-tl*, flower-the, *ni-k-temoa sotsitl*, I-it-seek flower, or, *ni-sotsi-temoa*, I-flower-seek. So in Gunwinggu, give me a spear, is either *mangole ŋanwo*, or *ŋan-gole-wo*, me-spear-give. The class prefix of *man-gole*, spear, is dropped (like the definitive *–tl* in Nahuatl) and the stem inserted into the verbal complex. In some of the languages this process can be employed almost at desire, but it is missing entirely from the Northern Kimberley branch of the family. In Groote Eylandt and Rose River (Nunggubuyu), however, amongst the multiple-classifying languages, and Bathurst and Melville Island amongst the dual-classifying languages, a further complexity is introduced. This is the fact that for a considerable number of nouns the inset form is completely different from the independent form. Examples:

	INDEPENDENT	INSET	ENGLISH
Groote Eylandt	*ajarga*	*–ambu–*	hand
	ajerge	*–ŋwiyaŋgi–*	arm
	yambia	*–miraga–*	throat
	ma'murigwa	*–mindagi–*	path
Bathurst Island	*iripapwata*	*–tipuŋa–*	elbow
	mapiti	*–piaintili–*	fish
	kuriripa	*–kua–*	knife

A few Bathurst Island examples of these forms are shown: *tamaruipa*, bring it > *tama-piaintiliripa*, bring the fish; *tama-ŋiliontuŋi-ripa*, bring

the wallaby. *ŋiru-uŋa*, I took it > *ŋiri-kua-ŋa*, I took the knife. Not all nouns are so treated; in Bathurst-Melville speech to date some forty have been listed. Here it is that defective investigation of the Australian languages makes any final statement as yet impossible. The result, however, is that in these languages compounds can be produced which are every bit as complex as those of Eskimo, e.g., the sentence produced by a Bathurst Island schoolboy when the writer and the local missionary were studying the phenomenon together: *waŋgini i-wini-watu-mini-ŋilim-paŋinō-wiri*, the dog came and bit my meat while I was asleep this morning (*i–*, 3rd sing. masc. prefix; *–wini–*, movement towards speaker; *–watu–* action in the morning; *–mini–*, first sing. object; *–ŋilim–*, sleeping; *–paŋinō–* inset form of *punu-ŋkapa*, meat, *–wiri*, bite.)

Hoijer in his sketch of Eskimo [1] has suggested the term "glosseme" for these inset nouns, defining a glosseme as "a morpheme having an independent, unitary meaning". It is an acceptable and useful term in North Australia as also in Eskimo. Now, the question is, within the general pattern of agglutination, are such glossemes to be considered "infixes"? According to Doke's usage they should, but the writer feels that they have absolutely nothing in common with infixes. They do not enter into the verbal base itself, but are added within the "portmanteau" complex. If there is to be any new terminology invented, "inset nouns" seems satisfactory, but the writer is content with "glosseme".

The main difference between Bantu and Australian agglutination is summed up in Doke's phrase "at times auxiliary elements . . . may be used before the subjectival concord . . . but *never* between the objectival concord and the stem". In Australia this is precisely where adverbial and nominal insets are put.

Professor Doke is not quite fair to Tucker in his dealings with Turkish (pp. 6–7 of his article). Most linguists would not now quote Tucker in matters of methodology, but as Doke has done so, it seems to the writer that Tucker is here quite correct in laying the boundary between inflecting and agglutinating languages at the point where the suffix ceases to be recognizable as an element that, though it cannot stand by itself, yet as a bound form can be used in many environments with a fixed meaning. If it is true that "as a matter of *principle* the Latin declension *vir, viri, viro, virum* differs in no respect from the Turkish *adem, ademin, ademe, ademi*", yet the Latin declension given does differ from the Latin declension of *domina, animal, res*, etc., whereas in Turkish all nouns are declined alike (allowing for the principle of vowel-harmony) and are moreover the same in singular and plural, with the intercalation of the pluralizer *lar* ~ *ler*. It is this difference that makes the Latin forms true inflexion. In Turkish, *–in* (or *–n* preceded by a variable vowel) can be relied on to indicate possession; but in Latin *–um* cannot be relied on to indicate the goal of an action: *filium* indicates "son" as such a goal, but *animalium* does not: it indicates a possessive-plural relationship. Similarly *viri* is ambiguous: it may be either genitive singular or nominative plural, while the *–i* in *civitat-i* shows a dative singular, and in *mar-i* an ablative singular. In an agglutinative language the character of the suffix is still visible and the suffix can be used in all sorts of situations with only morphophonemic alterations in form. Doke himself goes on to say, "Agglutination is a type of compounding in language, in which the elements are still recognized and recognizable as entities even in the compound." This is quite true, but this second definition does not harmonize with the first he gives. Under it the Bantu languages are just as agglutinative as the Australian. While he does not deny the occurrence of agglutinative compounds in Bantu he limits severely the spheres in which he recognizes them, and then by using "infixation" in a special sense which it does not bear for most linguists, he removes from Bantu whole areas of agglutinative word and phrase building, and is left with what he regards as the predominance of inflexion, whereas inflexion is really quite a minor element, as in the corresponding Australian languages. If agglutination be accepted according to Firth's

[1] *Linguistic Structures of North America*, Viking Fund Publication No. 6, ed. HARRY HOIJER, p. 50.

definition as consisting in the two facts that (1) the elements are still recognizable and movable, and (2) that a large number of such elements can be combined in one word, then both Bantu and North Australian are predominantly agglutinative. Doke quotes agglutinative compounds of this nature in Turkish, but when they occur in Bantu as prefixes instead of suffixes, does not seem to recognize them as such. The position makes no difference. Most of the inflexional examples cited by Doke can be explained on the morphophonemic level, as can those here adduced for the Australian languages. The phonemic changes in Bantu are a little more complex, but there is no difference in principle.

DIFFICULTIES OF TERMINOLOGY

The fact is that the chief difficulties raised by Doke's paper lie in his special use of terminology. To the present writer it seems that all the various types of formation detailed in Bantu can be subsumed under the general title "agglutination". The inflexional factors consist chiefly in the supra-segmental element of tone (see Doke, p. 18) and in some of the double forms, such as Lamba *na-mu-ŵone-ni*, I saw you (where *-e:ni* represents *-a* + *ini*). In the Australian multiple and other classifying languages, inflexional elements appear chiefly in (1) the expression of possession—and in this there is no agglutination,[1] and (2) the expression of person in the verb in some languages. On any normal definition of agglutination—such as Doke's second, or that quoted from Firth—it is hard to see how he can draw the conclusion on the same page (p. 7) that "agglutination, then, may be found as an expression of certain formations in Bantu, but it is not the characteristic feature of the languages", when the whole structure of the languages cries out the opposite, just as much as in North Australia. To the writer it seems that the reason for the conclusion reached by Doke is his most unusual definition of "infixation".

[1] See A. CAPELL, "The Concept of Ownership in Australia and the Pacific", *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*. (New Mexico), Vol. 3, No. 2, 1949, p. 169 ff.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Freedom and Authority in French West Africa. Robert DELAVIGNETTE. (Oxford University Press, London: Cumberlege, 1950, for the International African Institute) vi +152 pp. 12*s*. 6*d*.

This book is a translation of *Service Africain* which was published in Paris in 1946. Why the French title should have been changed it is difficult to imagine. The book was written in 1939 and describes 20 years of Colonial Service experience for the benefit of colonial administrative cadets.

But it is hardly a book to recommend to students of colonial administration who desire a clear precise evaluation of the West African policy of France. It is definitely not an objective thesis. The author attempts to project too much of his personal philosophy into it, and in parts the book reads like a traveller's description. Charming, no doubt, but scarcely compatible with the author's avowed aim, namely, to present a picture of French West African administration because it is "urgently necessary for the knowledge acquired and the methods tested in Africa by the different European nations to be pooled and compared".

The author, who was formerly High Commissioner for the French Cameroons, and is now the head of the "Direction des Affaires Politiques" in the Ministry of Overseas France, describes the administration of the French West African colonies from the point of view of the "Commandant

du Cercle", an officer corresponding more or less to the District Officer of British Administration. He suggests that the vital centre of the administrative organization is the "Commandant" in his relations with the native societies, but such a personage would appear to require the virtues, qualities and resilience of a "superman" if he is to perform the onerous tasks expected of him by the author. The emphasis is on the creative role of the administrator in shaping African society, and on the paternal and personal nature of his authority.

The author in his foreword states " . . . there are no non-self-governing territories in Africa, only peoples freely associated with the future of Europe". (!!) It would be interesting to have intellectual African opinion on this statement, particularly that militant African nationalist opinion now so vociferous in British West Africa. One is hard put to agree with the author when he claims that " . . . the aim pursued, and in large measure already realized, is the same. Britain and France, by different roads, but to the same extent, have given to the Africans the power to rule themselves". The British aim is " . . . to guide the colonial territories to responsible self-government within the Commonwealth in conditions that ensure to the people concerned both a fair standard of living and freedom from oppression from any quarter". (Cmd. 7433: 1948). With France, on the other hand, " . . . there has been no fundamental change in traditional French colonial policy, which is to train the inhabitants of the overseas territories to look to France and *not* to expect self-government as *autonomous* units". (*Corona*, Vol. 1, No. 11, December 1949 and idem, Vol. 11, No. 1, January 1950, p. 13 ff., *The French Union*, by D. Kirkpatrick.) The informed critic can draw his own conclusions as to the measure of success attained in political development in West African territories to-day, both British and French, and decide easily enough the differences apparent in the colonial aims of these two powers.

A major contribution to the reader's knowledge would have been information as to France's plans for colonial development in West Africa, a resumé of the processes which have been put into effect to assist the poverty-stricken masses in Africa, for it is by the sum total of endeavour to raise the level of the stagnant pools of illiterate African humanity that the achievements of colonial administration may be weighed and evaluated. The present uncertainties over the West African policy of France are scarcely touched upon. Moreover M. Delavignette makes little of the African élite which many authorities state provide an important buffer between French white colonials and the African masses. This privileged African class is only a tiny fraction of the population. Will they become a dominant oligarchy to whom the masses will be subject? Apparently the native masses still remain passive in French African territories. Where and when will African nationalism demonstrate itself in France's African territories? Then again, the French have allotted native culture and language no place in their educational system. This is true everywhere, or practically everywhere, of elementary education as well as secondary and higher education. No reckoning is made of African inclinations, no attempt made to consult African opinion and to allow official action to be influenced by this.

These are some of the questions the author might have examined, that is, *France's* contemplated colonial policy rather than the author's appraisal of what that policy should be.

The major portion of the book deals with the native peasant population and includes proposals for increasing agricultural production, developing co-operative marketing, and building up an independent, self-supporting peasant community. It suffers in presentation by the lack of an index and a map of the territory under discussion.

The reader may find it pleasant enough reading as a biographical sketch of the life of a French administrative officer in the field, but, as a serious study of colonial administration it falls far short of the exposition required by the serious student of colonial administration in Africa.

L.L.

CLICK-WORDS
WHICH XHOSA, ZULU AND SOTHO HAVE IN COMMON

W. BOURQUIN

SYNOPSIS

When coming down from the North the Nguni and Southern Sotho came into contact with the Hottentots, probably first with Korana tribes. They acquired from them three main types of clicks and a certain number of click-words. Later, when the Nguni tribes dispersed, they added individually more such words to their common stock. To-day click-words form about one seventh of the Xhosa and Zulu vocabulary. For future comparative studies it would be of advantage to have a list of the click-words which Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho have in common. Such a list is herewith presented. Of the 2395 click-words which are given in the Xhosa dictionary, only 376 are shared with Zulu and Sotho. The remaining 2000 must have been acquired after the division of the Nguni, probably from the Gonaqua who blended with the Xhosa and lost their identity as Hottentots.

THE LANGUAGES of the South-eastern Bantu which belong to the so-called Nguni cluster, as well as the language of the Southern Sotho, differ from other Bantu languages in so far as they have a great many words containing clicks. That these clicks have been acquired through contact with the Hottentots and Bushmen is to-day a generally accepted opinion. Already in 1857 Döhne wrote in his *Zulu-Kafir Dictionary :* "It is generally supposed that the clicks which are found in Zulu-Kafir have been adopted from the Hottentot language." Later in 1905 a paper was published by Meinhof on Hottentot sounds and borrowed words in Xhosa, *Hottentottische Laute und Lehnworte im Kafir* (89 pp.). Here he proved convincingly that the clicks and some other sounds were indeed derived from the Hottentot language and that quite an amount of borrowed words originate from it. The language he chose for comparison was Nama, although he was quite aware that not the Nama but other Hottentot tribes were probably the first to have met the Bantu.

To what extent words commencing with clicks have been incorporated into Nguni will be best understood by glancing through the dictionaries in Xhosa and Zulu. *The Kafir-English Dictionary*, by Kropf-Godfrey, published in 1915, devotes 86 out of 494 pages to such words. The latest *Zulu-English Dictionary*, by Doke-Vilakazi, published in 1948, gives 130 pages out of 902. This is for Xhosa roughly the sixth and for Zulu approximately the seventh part. In the *Sesuto-English Dictionary*, by Mabille-Dieterlen, published in 1924, about 21 pages only out of 535 have words commencing with clicks.

In his latest book, *The Zulu people as they were before the white man came* (1949), Bryant has voiced the opinion that the Bushman-Hottentot meeting may have occurred at any time after 1300. He thinks that between 1500 and 1550 the whole family of Nguni was settled about the upper Vaal river, in the modern Transvaal. Subsequently they broke up into different parties, some going in a north-westerly direction, others to the south-east, the Ntungwa who are the parent stock of the Zulu proper, to Zululand, others as Mpondo, Xhosa and Thembu further south right down into the Cape Colony, "thereafter becoming completely isolated from each other". As regards the Sotho tribes, the Southern Sotho only have been influenced in their language

through contact with Hottentots and Bushmen, but to a much lesser degree than the Nguni, as their vocabulary shows.

Taking into account this dispersion of the different Nguni tribes, the penetration of click-words into their language leaves the following possibilities. They acquired a common stock of words from the Hottentots or Bushmen when they were all still relatively united. Afterwards, when they had split up, each party individually added more words. These words may have had the same original form which was heard or interpreted differently by each tribe, or there may have been new words which were incorporated by one tribe only and not by the others. Another possibility is that during their migrations they met other Hottentot or Bushman tribes, different from those with which they had come into contact first, and acquired new words from them too. That this has been indeed the case is borne out by the fact that to-day, apart from a common stock, many click-words of exactly the same structure have quite different meanings in Xhosa and Zulu, and that a very great many click-words used in Xhosa are absolutely unknown in Zulu and vice versa. Nowadays the different tribes again come into peaceful contact within the compounds and other labour centres, with the result that also a number of click-words seem to be commonly accepted, as *um-gqibelo*, Saturday, *ucingo*, wire, telegram, *igqwetha*, law-agent, *incwadi*, book, letter, *igqongwe*, paraffin tin, etc.

As a preliminary step which might be helpful for any future comparative studies, it should be of advantage first to ascertain which words Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho have in common. For this reason the following list is published. The words are taken from the three above mentioned dictionaries. When possible also words from Nama and Korana which seem to be related to the respective Nguni words are added. They are taken, as regards Nama, from Krönlein, J. G. *Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin* (Berlin: 1889); as regards Korana, from Meinhof, C. *Der Korana-Dialekt des Hottentottischen* (Berlin : 1926); occasionally also from Wuras, C. F. *Vokabular der Korana-Sprache* (Berlin: 1920). This last Vocabulary was compiled already in 1858 in South Africa. When D. T. Beach is cited reference is made to his book *The Phonetics of the Hottentot Language* (Cambridge: 1938).

Although it is not intended to make a comprehensive study of the relations between Hottentot and Nguni, certain features deserve some closer consideration.

Observations lead to the assumption that the Hottentot tribes with which the Nguni first came into contact were Korana. This may be deducted above all from the fact that the velar glottal affricate *kx'* is found in quite a number of Xhosa and Zulu word-stems; (*x* is here not the symbol for the lateral click but for the unvoiced velar fricative). Although *kx* occurs in Nama, *kx'* (with glottal stop) does not occur. On the other hand it is frequently found in Korana, e.g. *kx'a*, drink, *kx'au*, bitter, *kx'ora*, raw. In the officially adopted orthography for Xhosa it is now written *kr*, whilst in Zulu orthography it is rather incorrectly written *kl*, which symbol, besides that, stands also for another sound which seems to be of true Bantu origin. Examples, Xhosa *krakra*, bitter, *krwada*, raw, *krazula*, to tear; Zulu *kleza*, milk into the mouth, *klazula*, tear, *klenya*, chew.

Beach remarks further that there is some difference between Nama and Korana in the pronunciation of *s*: "In Korana *s* is pronounced usually with a distinct lisp towards *ʃ* (the initial sound in the English word 'sheep')." Now Meinhof states in his first mentioned paper (p. 73) that when Nama and Xhosa words are compared the *s* of Nama occurs mostly as *ʃ* in Xhosa; e.g. Nama *gus*, flock of sheep, Xhosa *igusa*, sheep; Nama *su*, interjection when it is hot, Xhosa *ʃu*, how hot it is! *ʃuʃu*, adj., hot; Nama *soe*, to be enamoured with something, Xhosa *ʃweʃwa*, to have a concubine, cf. also Nama */owesa*, lazy, indolent, Xhosa *cebeʃa*, to be lazy, indolent. Already Wuras noted the tendency of Korana *s* to become *ʃ* for in his dictionary, he writes sometimes *sh* in place of *s*. So the occurrence of *ʃ* in Xhosa and Zulu loan-words points also to Korana influence.

Then there is the word *uThixo*, God, in Xhosa. The corresponding word in Nama is *Tsui-//goab*

or *Tsu-//goab*. Now another difference between Nama and Korana is that the latter has *th* in place of Nama *ts*. Wuras gives for Korana the form *Thuy-//goab* which seems to be the original form which has been taken over by the Xhosa, *u* having subsequently been elided. When Meinhof was in South Africa in 1928, he recorded the form *Thi-//goab* for Korana. In any case the initials *th* in *uThixo* also point to contact with Korana. Cf. also Xhosa *thuthumba*, to ache, throb with Korana *thũ*, ache, *thũb*, pain against Nama *tsũ*, and *tsũb*.

Finally some few words commencing with *kh*, in Xhosa which are clearly of non-Bantu origin are more in accordance with Korana than with Nama. In Korana *kh* is a strong velar plosive just as it is in Xhosa, whereas in Nama, according to Beach, it is a strongly aspirated affricate pronounced *kx*. Examples: Xhosa *khwe-dini*, boy! a vocative form from the Korana stem *khoe–*, human being, as in *khoe-b*, man, *khoe-s*, woman, *khoe-du-e*, you people. The formative *–ndini* is sometimes added to vocatives in Xhosa. Xhosa *khumʃa*, to speak in a foreign language, to interpret, from Korana *khom*, speak. Xhosa *i-khoßoka*, a slave, for which no word in Korana is given. Nama has *khowob* pronounced according to Beach *kxopop*. In Korana it would be pronounced with a plosive *kh*.

Turning now to the clicks, we can certainly assume that at first it must have been very difficult for the Bantu to discern the different kinds and to pronounce them. But as the Nguni certainly took Hottentot women as wives, the latter, together with their children, must have greatly helped to establish the clicks in the language.

Beach has thoroughly investigated the clicks in Nama and Korana where there are four main types according to "the four kinds of influx" (p. 75). Of these four types three have been taken over by Xhosa and Zulu:

(1) the dental-affricative, written *c*, in Hottentot /;

(2) the lateral-affricative, written *x*, in Hottentot //;

(3) the alveolar-implosive or palato-alveolar, or simply the palatal click, written *q*, in Hottentot *!*.

The fourth, the denti-alveolar click, written ǂ in Hottentot, does not exist in Xhosa and Zulu. Vedder [1] remarks that many Bergdama, whose language is also Nama, have difficulty in producing the clicks and pronounce especially the denti-alveolar click ǂ indistinctly, as a result of their thick, round tongues, in contrast to the Hottentots and Bushmen whose tongues are more thin and pointed. So there is no wonder that also the Bantu found it difficult to pronounce this type of click and did not acquire it. When taking over words with this click they have substituted for it either the palatal click *q* or the dental click *c*. Xhosa *qhwitha*, strike fire with flint, Nama ǂ*huwi*, to light, to burn. Xhosa *isi-qu*, self, Nama ǂ*ũ*, self. Xhosa *i-gqwaßa*, coffee or tea left in pot, Nama ǂ*gomab*, grounds of coffee. Xhosa *cinga*, to think,Nama ǂ*ẽi*, Korana ǂ*ĩ*, to think. Xhosa *um-nchunuße*, willow-tree, Nama and Korana ǂ*hũib*, willow-tree.

The Sotho, who had the least contact with Hottentots, have adopted one click only, the palatal, written *q*. Having succeeded in pronouncing at least this one click they seem to have used it indiscriminately for the others as well.

Similarly the Swazi (Swati) use only two main types of clicks. Ziervogel [2] remarks: "The lateral click *x* does not occur. The clicks *c* and *q* are both found in Swati but are mixed up or used as alternatives. Zulu *xoxa*, relate, Swati *qoqa* or *coca*. Zulu *qoqa*, gather, Swati also *qoqa* or *coca*." Phuthi which has a midway position between Nguni and Sotho has all three Nguni clicks as shown by Mzamane.[3]

The Xhosa and Zulu generally seem to have retained the main type of the original click in their borrowed words and not to have mixed them up although Zulu shows sometimes varied forms for the same word, as *nqiba* and *nxiba*, to sponge on others, *chambusa* and *qhambusa*,

[1] VEDDER, H. *Die Bergdama* (Hamburg: 1923)I, p. 153.
[2] ZIERVOGEL, D. "Notes on the Noun Classes of Swati and Nrebele", *African Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2-3, 1948.

[3] MZAMANE, G. I. M. *A Concise Treatise on Phuthi with Special Reference to its Relations with Nguni and Sotho* "Fort Hare Papers", Vol. 1, No. 4, 1949.

pierce, *xhifiza* and *chifiza*, crush something soft, *cwasa* and *xwasa*, differentiate against, etc.

Now each main click has, as Beach shows (p. 82), five varieties in Nama and six in Korana, "according to the different types of efflux" giving a total of 20 and 24 respectively. Although Xhosa has seven varieties and combinations of each click, with which stems can commence, and Zulu six, Beach makes the remarkable statement after his investigations, that they have only one variety in common with Hottentot, viz. the voiced-nasal type written *nc*, *nq*, *nx*.

The following varieties and combinations are found in Xhosa and Zulu :

(1) *c*, *q*, *x*. (2) *gc*, *gq*, *gx*. (3) *ch*, *qh*, *xh*. (4) *nc*, *nq*, *nx*. (5) *ngc*, *ngq*, *ngx*. (6) *nkc*, *nkq*, *nkx*. Doke says that this last combination is rare in Zulu. It seems indeed to occur within stems only, as no words commencing with it are given in the dictionary, whereas in Xhosa a few stems actually commence in this way. It is however regularly used in Xhosa when nouns of class 9 are formed from stems with aspirated clicks, as *inkcitho* from *chitha*, to scatter, waste; *inkqubo*, progress from *qhuba*, to drive. The way of writing *nkc*, *nkq*, *nkx* has been recently adopted with the new orthography. In Kropf's dictionary a dot is placed on the click. Whether the clicks in this case must be regarded as another variety or as part of another combination I leave to the experts in phonetics to decide. It seems to me however that, at least in Xhosa, the clicks here are different from the other varieties as to all appearance they are pronounced with a glottal stop. This would also conform to Xhosa phonetic laws in other cases in which aspirated consonants as *kh*, *th*, *ph* become *k'*, *t'*, *p'*, when *n* or *m* of class 9 precedes them, e.g. *in-k'athazo*, annoyance from *khathaza*, to trouble, *int'etho*, speech from *thetha*, speak, *imp'ilo*, health from *phila*, be well.

All the more it is strange that Xhosa has the further combination (7) *nch*, *nqh*, *nxh* which occurs at the beginning of click-words and is unknown in Zulu, e.g. *inchunchu*, sugar-bird, *nqhola*, to be hard, obstinate, *nxhama*, to be in a hurry. As also no Hottentot words commence in this way an explanation is not quite easy. In the following words the nasalized vowel following the aspirated click in Hottentot may have been the cause for the appearance of the nasal, e.g. *nqhuſa*, to stamp with a pestle in a mortar, from Nama *!hũ*, stamp, pulverise, or from Nama ǂ*hãu*,[1] stamp corn; in both words the vowel is nasalized; *um-nchunube*, Korana, Nama ǂ*hũib*, willow-tree; *isi-nchwangu*, viciousness, baseness, */hõa-gaob*, villain; *i-nchuka*, hyena or strand-wolf, Korana */hu-khãb*, where however the second vowel is nasalized.

Ziervogel gives for Swazi the same six varieties and combinations as in Zulu, and Mzamane for Phuthi seven as in Xhosa. In Sotho there are, according to Jacottet's grammar, three varieties of the one click *q*. "This click is either hard (*q*), aspirated (*qh*) or nasal (*nǵ*)." Why *nǵ* is used and not *nq* is not explained.[2] In the dictionary about 12 words show *nǵ* nearly all with an alternative form having *q*. In seven words *nq* is used, apparently different from *nǵ*. Two words have even *nqh*. Mzamane remarks in his Phuthi Treatise that Sotho has the sound *nkq* "although it is not represented as such in the current orthography". In any case it is obvious that nasalized clicks are rather rare in Sotho. In most cases the simple click *q* corresponds to Nguni nasalized clicks.

We have seen that Xhosa and Zulu were able to reproduce three main types of the Hottentot clicks, although they have developed other varieties. In words which must be regarded as identical they use however not always the same variety among themselves. The click is perhaps a simple click in Xhosa, but aspirated or nasalized in Zulu and vice versa, e.g. Xhosa *caca*, to be clear, Zulu, *chacha;* Xhosa *xhasa*, support, Zulu *xasa;* Xhosa *cenga*, coax, Zulu *ncenga*.

Again, vowels of stems which are clearly identical with Hottentot stems, do not always agree. The reason for it may be that, in Hottentot words, two vowels can easily follow each other as

[1] WANDRES, C. *Nama-Wörter*. "Zeitschr. f. Eing. Sprachen", (Berlin : 1926). XVI, 4.

[2] There seem to be four clicks with nasal accompaniment in Sotho : *nǵ* (the nasal click *nq* in Zulu) as *nǵalò*, place ; *nq* 'Nguni *nkq*) as in *nqechane*, species of bird *nqh* (velar nasal followed by aspirated click) as in *liqhènqhè*, dribble ; and *'nǵ* (velar nasal followed by nasal click) as in *'nǵa*, side. [Ed.]

ae, *ai*, *ao*, *au*, *oa*, *ui*. But to pronounce two vowels in succession is difficult for the Bantu. In adjusting their pronunciation they either chose the first or second vowel only or contracted both. The following words may serve as examples; Xhosa *i-gxamesi*, cattle-out-post, Nama *//gãu-mãis*, [1] cattle-outpost. From the first pair of vowels *a* was retained whereas the second pair was contracted into *e*. Xhosa *i-cesina*, fever (older form given by Döhne *i-cesini*), Nama */aiseni*, sickness. Xhosa *i-gqira*, Native doctor, Korana *!ai-xab*, doctor (*x* no click here but unvoiced velar fricative). Here Xhosa has retained the second vowel. Xhosa *qaſa* and *qeſa*, hire, Nama *!gai*, hire; in one form the first vowel has been retained, in the second both have been contracted.

Lastly another point may be mentioned. The popular belief frequently held is that words of different languages which sound alike must therefore be probably related. Very often however just the opposite is the case and words which seem unconnected are really of the same origin. This will be evident only if the phonetic laws of sound-shifting in the different languages are fully understood. Then a word like Xhosa *thanda* and Sotho *rata* will be recognized at once as the same word, for Xhosa *th* appears regularly as *r* in Sotho and *nd* regularly as *t*.

It is however quite different when foreign words are incorporated into a language. They are acquired so to say by imitation, by trying to pronounce them as accurately as possible. New sounds which have been successfully reproduced come in this way into the phonetic system of the language. Often however it is impossible to reproduce them and for them are substituted existing sounds which are more easy to pronounce. In this way new rules of sound substitution are developed.

The original Hottentot verb stems have always been extended, either by simply adding the vowel *a* or by adding different endings as *da*, *ka*, *la*, *nga*, *ta*, etc. These endings are not always identical in the different languages. e.g. Xhosa *gxotha*, drive away but Zulu, *xoſa*.

Döhne remarks in his dictionary "that not every word which contains a click is necessarily of Hottentot descent. It appears to be certain that the Kafir nations have in some way or other allowed themselves to be influenced by clicking nations so as to change other characters for clicks." Also Beach (p. 289) is of this opinion. As "clicking is to some extent contagious", he thinks clicks were thus introduced on a fairly large scale by the Zulu and Xhosa. I do not think however that it has occurred on a large scale, although some true Bantu words have been affected in this way.

A list is now given of words which are common to two or to all of the three languages. For Xhosa not Kropf's but the official orthography has been used. For Zulu and Sotho I follow the orthography in Doke's and Mabille's dictionaries. The only change made has been the adoption of *ſ* used in Xhosa also for Zulu and Sotho *sh*.

It will have to be remembered that Sotho *e* and *õ* with Mabille correspond to Nguni *i* and *u*. Further that Sotho *h*, *k*, *p*, *ts* correspond to Nguni *k*, *ng*, *mb*, *z* respectively, e.g. Xhosa *i-qhinga*, trick, Sotho *le-qheka*; Xhosa *qethuka*, tumble over, Sotho *qethõha*, fall backwards; Xhosa *qaqamba*, to pain with a throbbing sensation, Sotho *qaqapa*, to ache; Xhosa *qalaza*, Sotho *qalatsa*.

Firstly words with the palatal click *q* are given, as this click has been properly accepted also by the Sotho. Then follow words with the dental click *c* and finally with the lateral click *x*.

Abreviations:

Bry. = Bryant, A. T. *A Zulu-English Dictionary*.
E. = Words which are specially marked as Embo words in Kropf's dictionary.
ideo. = ideophone; such words form verbs with *ukuthi* in Xhosa and Zulu and *ho re* in Sotho. If therefore in the following list a verb is given as meaning, *ukuthi* or *ho re* must always be understood to be connected with the ideophone.

K. = Korana. X. = Xhosa.
N. = Nama. Z. = Zulu.
Wu. = Wuras.

[1] WANDRES, C. *Nama-Worter*. "Zeitschr. f. Eing. Sprachen", (Berlin : 1926), XVI, 4.

LIST OF WORDS (BASED ON XHOSA)

A. PALATAL CLICK *q*

(q, gq, qh, ngq, nkq. nq, nqh)

1 X. *isi-qa*, lump or piece of any substance (meat, etc.).
Z. *i-qa*, *isiqa*, small lump (as of meat, etc.).
S. *le-qa*, small piece of meat.

2 X. *qaβa*, paint, colour, smear body or face with red clay.
i-qaβa, ignorant person, heathen (as they smeared themselves with red clay).
Z. *gqaβa*, mark the face with coloured clay or paint.
i-qaβa, ignorant, uncultured person, heathen.

3 X. *qaβa-qaβa*, ideo., be dotted or spotted.
Z. *gqaβa*, ideo., of marking with large spots.
ama-gqaβagqaβa, large sized spots, as on leopard skin.

4 X. *qaβavu*, ideo., to be the only one in sight (a house).
Z. *qaβavu*, ideo., of prominence, of being clearly visible, of standing out.

5 X. *i-qaβaza*, a raindrop.
qaβazisa, drop quickly as drops of rain in a shower.
Z. *qhaβaza*, make a pattering noise as rain.
um-qhaβazo, shower of heavy drops of rain.

6 X. *qaβe*, ideo., *qaβela*, to climb to the top, reach the top.
E. mount a horse. In this sense also used in East Griqualand.
S. *qoabèla*, to climb, to ride.
K. *!'aba*, ascend, *!aβi*, ride on horseback.
N. *!awa*, climb, ascend, *!gawi*, ride on horseback.

7 X. *qaβu*, ideo., clear away, recover from fainting, break out in joy.
qaβuka, clear away, get awake, revive.
qaβula, take off (rain), refresh, revive.
Z. *qaβu*, ideo., of sudden vision, of awakening.
qaβuka, see for the first time, wake up.
qaβula, refresh, enliven.
S. *qabōha*, see something for the first time, make glad.
qabōla, to rejoice, make glad.

8 X. *um-qadi*, the principal, uppermost rafter of a roof or house.
i-qadi, the woman appointed to be the support of the great wife in bearing for her a son if she is childless.
Z. *um-qhadi*, principal crossbeam supporting hut roof.
i-nqadi, second wife of chief to bear the heir should chief wife fail.

9 X. *qala*, commence, begin.
Z. *qala*, commence, begin, start.
S. *qala*, commence, begin.

10 X. *um-qala*, the throat.
Z. *um-qala*, the neck.
S. *mo-qala*, inside of the throat.

11 Z. *isi-qalaβa sehlathi*, species of sugarbush.
S. *se-qalaba*, sugarbush. Also in East Griqualand *isi-qalaβa* is used for sugarbush.

12 X. *qalaza*, look about in all directions.
Z. *qalaza*, look about hither and thither.
S. *qalatsa*, to look here and there.

13 Z. *qalingana*, Bry., be in a scattered, far apart, irregular state.
S. *qalikana*, to be scattered, far between.

14 X. *qalekisa*, to imprecate evil upon, curse.
Z. *qalekisa*, curse.

15 Z. *u-qalo*, bamboo, *Arundinaria tessalata*.
S. *le-qala*, the plant *Arundinaria tessalata*, bamboo.

16 Z. *qamba*, invent, compose a song.
S. *qapa*, invent, compose a song.

17 X. *qamela*, lay head on anything for rest.
um-qamelo, wooden head-rest, pillow.
Z. *qamela* and *camela*, lean on, rest the head as on pillow.
isi-qamelo, *isi-camelo*, native wooden head-rest.

Here undoubtedly a click has been substituted for the original initial consonant, probably *s*. Sotho has *sama*, put a thing as pillow, *samela*, prepare a pillow for, *mosamelo*, pillow. This is an old Bantu stem found in many languages.[1] Nama has ǂ*kawi*, place something under the head for sleeping. Perhaps the click in this word was the cause for the Nguni to commence their word with a click too.

18 X. *i-qanda*, an egg; a kind of large bead.
Z. *i-qanda*, egg; large bead.

19 X. *qandela*, to guess, conjecture.
isi-qandeliso, a riddle.
Z. *qandela*, guess, *um-qandiselo*, riddle.

20 X. *qandula*, to peck, i.e. to dress a stone for grinding.
Z. *qandu*, ideo., of knocking, chipping.
qandula, roughen the surface of the grindstone by chipping.

21 X. *um-qangaƀodwa*, a stalk of Kaffir-corn which has degenerated into a sort of reed.
Z. *um-qangabodwe*, tall, rank grass, *Panicum proliferum*. According to Bry., wild Kaffir-corn or sugar-reed, growing up from itself in an old field.

22 X. *i-qaqa*, striped muishond, *Ictonyx capensis*.
Z. *i-qaqa*, Cape Polecat, *Ictonyx zorilla*.

23 X. *u-qaqa*, a ridge of stones on the upper part of mountains.
Z. *u-qaqa*, belt of perpendicular rocks running round the top of a hill.

24 X. *qaqamba*, to pain with a throbbing sensation.
Z. *qaqamba*, ache, throb.
S. *qaqapa*, to ache (of the body).

25 X. *qaʃa*, to choose, pick out; hire a servant, also *qeʃa*.
uku-qaʃa intombi ngomlomo, to choose a girl for a wife.
Z. *qaʃa*, hire, rent (house, labour); live together loosely.
N. *!gai*, hire, *!gaisa*, available for hiring.

26 X. *qatha*, ideo., to alight suddenly.
Z. *qatha*, ideo., of arrival (Bry., alight upon, just come to or arrive at).

27 Z. *qaza*, look for; examine, inspect.
S. *qatsa*, to stare at, to look fixedly at.

28 X. *i-qeƀengwana*, bread made of Kaffi-corn baked in the ashes.
Z. *i-qeƀelengwana*, fried bread.
S. *le-qèbèkoane*, mealie bread cooked by steam.

29 X. *qede*, ideo., *qeda*, to finish, bring to a termination.
Z. *qeda*, complete, finish, bring to an end.
S. *qèta*, to finish, to end.

30 X. *qeke*, ideo., to stand alone, stand out as tree or house on a plain or ridge.
Z. *qeke*, ideo., of coming out, standing out alone, being visible.

31 X. *isi-qendu*, a part of the whole (garment); a chapter.
Z. *isi-qendu*, also *isi-qentu*, portion, part, section, paragraph, verse.

32 X. *qengqa*, to roll a stone from one place to another, to bowl a ball.
Z. *ngqengqa*, roll or run along the edge.

33 X. *qeqeʃa*, break in or train (horse, ox) train, discipline, educate.
Z. *qeqeʃa*, train, instruct, drill.

34 X. *qethu*, ideo., *qethuka*, lose one's balance, tumble over.
Z. *qethu*, ideo., *qethuka*, fall over backwards, get upset, capsized.
S. *qethōha*, fall backwards.

35 X. *i-qili*, clever, cunning person.
Z. *i-qili*, clever, cunning, crafty person.

36 X. *qina*, to become solid, to be in the strength of one's manhood; be firm, fixed.
Z. *qina*, be firm, solid, strong, hard.

37 X. *qingatha*, to be a little more than half full.
Z. *qingatha*, be half full, be incomplete.

38 Z. *qiqinga*, tie in a bundle.
S. *qeqeka*, to bind, to carry a heavy bundle.
K. *!ai*, bind, pack on.
N. *!gai*, bind, pack, load.

[1] Venda *siamela*, rest one's head upon, Bemba *samina*, Mambwe *samila*, Luba *samina*. Nyanja *m-samilo*, wooden head-rest. Yao *m-samilo*, pillow. Swahili *m-samilo*, wooden head-rest. Maddan gives for Lalamba *tamina*, rest head upon, *mu-tamino*, wooden head-rest. This seems to indicate that the original Bantu stem commenced with *t* in some languages as against *k* in others.

39 X. *qithi*, ideo., to fall suddenly, as something from off one's head.
qithi-qithi, ideo., fall out (corn from the ear), fall off easily.
Z. *qithi*, ideo., of alighting gently, putting down lightly.

40 X. *isi-qithi*, anything separated and round, hence an open space in a forest, an island.
Z. *isi-qithi*, plot of ground, patch of grass.

41 Z. *i-qobo*, mealie cob (Bry., when shelled of the grain).
S. *le-qhōbō*, ear of the Kaffir-corn when the corn is out.

42 X. *um-qokolo*, the Kei-apple tree.
Z. *um-qokolo*, Kei-apple tree, *Alberia Caffra*.

43 X. *um-qokozo*, a chain.
Z. *um-qokozo*, trek chain connecting the yokes.

44 X. *u-qolo*, a ridge or neck of a hill; a narrow path with precipices on each side.
Z. *u-qolo*, precipitous hill.

45 X. *um-qolo*, the backbone or spine of an animal. The lintel of a door, round cornice of a Native hut.
Z. *um-qolo*, spinal column; framework as of basket, hut, etc.

46 X. *qonda*, understand, conceive, comprehend.
Z. *qonda*, understand, comprehend, grasp the meaning of.

47 X. *i-qondo*, the fastening stitch.
Z. *i-qondo*, stitch or single binding in Native sewing, as in hut binding, etc.

48 X. *i-qonga*, elevated place for storing fruit, corn, etc.
Z. *qonga*, rise up, be heaped up.
um-qongo, pile, heap, raised up mass (corn, etc.).

49 X. *qongqotha*, to knock with the knuckles on a bag.
Z. *qongqotha*, knock, rap (as at door).
S. *qoqota*, to knock.

50 X. *i-qoqo*, a hidden party of an army waiting for an attack.
Z. *i-qoqo*, collection, assemblage, heap, group.

51 X. *i-qubu*, a heap of Kaffir-corn before it is winnowed.
S. *le-qōbō*, small heap of Kaffir-corn to be winnowed.

52 X. *um-qulu*, heap, package, bundle, roll, bale.
Z. *um-qulu*, bundle, roll of papers, roll of tobacco.
S. *mo-qōlō*, roll of tobacco.

53 X. *qulula*, to strip off, shell, husk.
Z. *qhulula*, strip off.

54 X. *qulusa*, to bend the head and turn the buttocks to somebody.
Z. *qulusa*, walk with protruding buttocks.

55 X. *qumba*, to swell out as a bud, swell up; be angry.
Z. *qumba*, swell out; be angry.

56 X. *u-qumbu*, the large intestine of cattle.
S. *mo-qopo*, small intestines of any animal.

57 X. *qumka*, (tribal) to burst open.
Z. *qhumuka*, burst out, burst forth, sprout.

58 X. *qumza*, to crush any hard substance.
Z. *qhumuza*, crunch, chew, champ; crack the head with a stick.

59 X. *qunga*, to disturb water, to pour milk and water together.
Z. *qunga*, discolour, darken; mix together, infuse.

60 Z. *qunga*, fortify by medicinal charms (as does a man who killed another in battle. Bry.).
S. *qokisa*, to doctor a warrior who has killed a man in battle.

61 X. *isi-qungo*, passion for killing other people, said to be contracted in war.
Z. *i-qungo*, fit of insanity caused by neglect to use purifying charms after killing in battle; bloodlust.
S. *le-qōko*, sickness of a man who after killing another one in battle, has not been purified.

62 X. *qungquluza*, to lie flat, stretched out, exposed, stark naked.
Z. *qungquluza*, lie exposed, lie or sit naked.

63 X. *qungqutha*, to beat with a stick; thrash out ears of Kaffir-corn.
Z. *qungqutha*, remove contents by shaking or knocking.

64 X. *um-qungu*, Tambootie grass, *Andropogon marginatus*.
Z. *isi-qunga*, Tambootie grass.

S. *qokoa*, Tambootie grass, *Antropogon auctus*.

65 X. *ququɓala*, lie down indolently, gather the body up as for sleep.
Z. *ququɓala*, sit huddled up as sick person.

66 X. *qutha*, to close the mouth on what is being chewed.
Z. *qutha*, screw up (the mouth, fingers and thumb together).

67 X. *i-qwaɾa*, a Quagga.
Z. *i-qwahhaſi*, zebra.
S. *qoaha*, zebra, *equus qwuagga*.

68 X. *qwayela*, scratch the ground as a hen does.
Z. *qhwaya*, scratch, scratch about as a hen.
S. *qhoaea*, scratch the ground.

69 X. *qwenga*, to rend in pieces, to tear like a beast of prey.
Z. *qwenga*, to tear.

70 X. *u-qweqwe*, an outer shell or crust, scab, scurf.
Z. *u-qweqwe*, hard crust, scab.
S. *le-qoèqòè*, crust, skin of milk.

71 X. *i-gqaɓi*, a leaf of a tree or plant.
Z. *i-gqaɓi*, *iqaɓi*, *igqaɓu*, leaf.

72 X. *gqaɓu*, ideo., *gqaɓuka*, to burst as tumour, boil or bladder.
gqaɓula, to break off (string, rope).
Z. *gqaɓu*, ideo., *gqaɓuka*, snap off, get broken through.
gqaɓula, snap off, break off.

73 X. *gqagqa*, ideo., to be dotted over, one here one there (small-pox, buttons on garment, villages on land).
Z. *gqagqa*, place in a scattered manner.
i-gqagqa, anything with spaces between its component parts.

74 X. *gqala*, to take notice, fix the attention, observe attentively.
Z. *gqala*, look intently.

75 X. *in-gqatha*, dung in small pellets, of goats, sheep, etc.
Z. *in-gqatha*, pellet of hard excrement (sheep, goat).
qatha, ideo., of falling, dropping lightly.
qathaza, drop dung (in lumps Bry.).

76 X. *igqeba*, a knobkerrie.
Z. *i-gqeɓa*, certain species of trees used for sticks; collect. name of sticks carried by a young man.

77 X. *gqiɓi*, ideo., *gqiɓa*, finish, accomplish, terminate.
um-gqiɓelo, Saturday.
Z. *gqiɓa*, finish off, complete.
um-gqiɓelo, Saturday.
S. *mo-qebèlo*, Saturday.

78 X. *gqoboka*, break out, to open, be perforated, pierced through, become converted.
Z. *gqobo*, ideo., of braking through, rupturing, making a hole; *gqoboka*, be ruptured, broken through.

79 X. *u-gqolo*, a steep, perpendicular ascent; a hillside.
Z. *u-gqolo*, steep ascent, hillside with steep ridge down.

80 X. *i-gqongwe*, anything empty as a box, bag or paraffin tin.
Z. *i-gqongwe*, paraffin tin.

81 X. *u-gqonci*, underbush, *Trichocladus, ellipticus*.
Z. *um-gqonci*, species of undershrub, *Trichocladus ellipticus*.

82 X. *gquɓa*, raise dust or dry dung as cattle.
um-gquɓa, old, soft, dusty manure.
Z. *gqubu*, ideo., of rising up, as dust, sediment.
quɓa, raise up dust.
um-quɓa, manure, powdered dung of cattle, etc.

83 Z. *u-gqubu*, glans penis of an animal.
S. *le-qōbō*, penis of an animal.

84 X. *gquma*, to cover, as by throwing a garment over ones head to suffocate him, conceal, hide under the garment.
Z. *gqumaſa*, wrap up (wrap closely round the body, as a blanket or cloak, Bry.).
K. *!u*, to cover, *!gu* (Wu.).

85 X. *gquſu*, ideo., *gquſa*, trample, crush, pound a new road.
Z. *gquſa*, pound up, grind together, mash (or does it belong to No. 139?).

86 X. *gqwetha*, to turn a thing upside down, alter, pervert, making black white.
i-gqwetha, a law-agent, attorney.
Z. *i-gqwetha*, lawyer, solicitor.

87 X. *qha*, only.
S. *qha*, only.

88 X. *um-qha*, the tree dassie, *Procavia arborea*.
Z. *isi-qha*, species of tree hyrax, *Procavia arborea*.

89 X. *qhaneka*, (used in East Griqualand) to saddle up.
S. *qhana*, a saddle, *qhanèha*, saddle up.
N. *!han*, put saddle cloth on ox or horse.

90 X. *qhankqalaza*, to be in open view, exposed.
Z. *qangqalaza*, come into view, be visible.

91 X. *qhaqha*, to cut open, tear open (seam, letter, lock, box).
Z. *qhaqha*, also *qaqa*, rip open, rip up, demolish, pull down.
S. *qhaqha*, pull down, cut open, demolish.

92 Z. *qhaqhazela*, tremble, shiver, chatter (of the teeth).
S. *qhaqhasèla*, shiver with cold.

93 X. *i-qhawe*, silkful, expert person, champion, brave man.
Z. *i-qhawe*, warrior, brave person, hero.
S. *le-qhaoe*, clever young man, *le-qhaooe*, brave man.

94 X. *qhayisa*, be proud, haughty, *uku-ziqhayisa*, pride oneself.
Z. *uku-ziqhayisa*, be proud.

95 X. *qheke*, ideo., to gape, *qhekeka*, to crack, break.
qhekeza, to break to pieces.
Z. *qheke*, ideo., of being open, gaping.
qhekeka, burst open, *qhekeza*, cleave open.

96 X. *qhela*, to be accustomed to, or acquainted with.
Z. *qhela*, get used to, become accustomed to.

97 X. *um-qhele*, a circlet of hair round a bald head.
Z. *qhela*, bind round the forehead, put a fillet round.
um-qhele, ornament worn, encircling the head.

98 X. *qhezu*, ideo., *qhezuka*, be broken off.
Z. *qhezu*, ideo., of breaking, chipping.
qhezuka, get broken, chipped.
S. *qhetsōha*, to split, get broken.

99 X. *i-qheya*, a Hottentot.
S. *le-qhea*, half-caste person.

100 X. *qhina*, tie or fasten with a knot.
Z. *qhina*, plait the hair, hobble a horse.

101 X. *i-qhinga*, device, trick, dodge, subterfuge.
Z. *i-qhinga*, art, craft in doing, plan, scheme.
S. *le-qheka*, deceit, cheat, trick.

102 X. *qhiphu*, ideo., open or break apart suddenly.
qhiphuka, break asunder, *qhiphula*, separate, divide.
Z. *qhephu*, ideo., of separating, breaking off a piece.
qhephuka, come apart, *qhephula*, separate, break apart.

103 X. *i-qhiya*, head cloth of women.
Z. *i-qhiya*, head cloth.
N. *!keis*, head cloth.

104 X. *i-qhoƀo*, a root dug up and eaten in time of hunger.
Z. *um-qhoƀo*, raw potatoe; tuberous food which may be eaten raw.

105 X. *qhoƀoʃa*, to fasten, knee-halter, button, hook.
Z. *qhoƀoʃa*, knee-halter.
isi-qhoƀoʃo, large safety pin.
S. *qhoƀoʃela*, to fix with a pin.

106 X. *qhola*, to perfume the kaross or body.
Z. *qhola*, anoint, perfume.

107 X. *u-qhoqhoqho*, the windpipe.
Z. *u-qhoqhoqho*, windpipe.
S. *qhoqhoqho*, larynx, throat.

108 X. *qhoʃa*, to pin or button together.
i-qhoʃa, button of any kind.
Z. *qhoʃa*, button, pin together.
i-qhoʃa, brass button.
K. *!goi-is*, button (Wu.).

109 X. *qhuƀa*, urge, push forward, drive.
Z. *qhuƀa*, drive along, urge on.
S. *qhōba*, drive, push on.

110 X. *i-qhuƀu*, protuberance, any swelling on the body.
Z. *i-qhuƀu*, swelling, bulging, growth, tomour.
S. *le-qhubu*, swelling, lump, hump.
K. *!hubu-b*, protuberance, swelling on the body.
N. *!huwu*, be round.

111 X. *i-qhula*, a small, round button; a bead.
um-qhulo, a button.
Z. *i-qhulu*, brass button.

112 X. *qhuqha*, to trot.
Z. *qhuqha*, trot (as a horse).
S. *qhuqha*, to trot fast, shaking the rider badly.

113 X. *ili-qhwa*, cold, rain with sleet, ice.
Z. *i-qhwa*, frost, snow, cold, cold weather, ice.
S. *le-qhoa*, ice.

114 X. *qhwitha*, to strike fire with flint or match.
Z. *qhwifa*, strike a light.
K. ǂ*huwi*, kindle, burn.
N. ǂ*huwi*, light, set fire to.

115 X. *i-ngqimba*, thickness, denseness; a great number of men, houses, clouds.
Z. *i-ngqimba*, a thick layer, thick, flat mass.

116 X. *ngqo*, ideo., to go straight forward in a road or matter without turning.
Z. *ngqo*, ideo., of straightness.

117 X. *ngqu*, ideo., to knock up against something.
ngquba, to knock up against a hard substance or against a person.
Z. *ngqu*, ideo., of coming up against an obstacle.
ngqubu, ideo., of bumping, butting.

118 X. *nkqi*, ideo., to be firm, fixed, stiff, hard.
Z. *ngqi*, ideo., of firm, tight hold, of being fixed firmly.

119 X. *nkqo*, ideo., to stand upright, perpendicular.
Z. *nqo*, ideo., of being right overhead, of the sun.
(Bry., stand erect, upright, pointing straight upwards, as a post, or dog standing on its hind legs.)

120 X. *nqaba*, to become impracticable from difficulties, refuse, withhold, be inaccessible, valuable beyond attainment.
i-nqaba, impossibility, difficulty, tower, stronghold.
Z. *nqaba*, *enqaba*, refuse, forbid, be excellent.
i-nqaba, difficulty, fortress, stronghold.
S. *qaba*, be too much for, too difficult for, be in a fix.
qaba, place out of which one can not climb, difficulty.

121 X. *um-nqabaza*, a tree, *Grewia occidentalis*.
Z. *um-nqabaza*, species of trees, *Grewia occidentalis* and *Gr. hispida*.

122 X. *nqaku*, ideo., *nqakula*, stretch out one's hand to catch a ball.
Z. *nqaku*, ideo., *nqakula*, grab, snap at.
nqaka, catch, as a ball.

123 X. *i-nqala*, a tree, *Schmidelia africana*.
Z. *i-nqala*, species of hardwood tree, *Schmidelia africana*.

124 X. *i-nqalu*, the striped field mouse.
S. *qaloè*, smallest species of field mouse.
K. *!aru-b*, rat.

125 X. *nqam*, ideo., to cut off suddenly; *nqamla*, cut off.
Z. *nqamu*, ideo., of cutting, snapping off.
nqamula, cut through, chop off.

126 X. *nqamleza*, to put across each other.
um-nqamlezo, a cross.
Z. *nqamuleza*, crucify.
u-nqamulezo, cross.

127 X. *nqanda*, to turn back a person or animal.
Z. *nqanda*, prevent, turn away, check.

128 E. *nqangi*, *nqanji*, first in point of time.
Z. *nqangi*, obsolete root of priority.
u-nqangi, first born of twins.
S. *le-qatse*, the first one to play in the knuckle bones game.
Xhosa has also *i-ngqanci*, first settlers in a district. Cf. Nama *!kan-/i*, to calf or lamb for the first time.

129 X. *um-nqathe*, a wild carrot.
Z. *isa-nqante*, *isa-qatha*, species of edible wild carrot.

130 X. *um-nqayi*, a forest tree, *Eleodendron velutinum*.
Z. *um-nqayi*, species of forest tree, *Eleodendron velutinum*.

131 X. *ili-nqe*, misgiving, feeling of nervousness from apprehension of danger.
Z. *i-nqe*, nervousness, anxiety from fear or danger.

132 X. *isi-nqe*, the small of the back, the loins.
Z. *isi-nqe*, buttock of man or beast, rump.

133 X. *nqena*, to be disinclined, to feel indifferent, to be idle, lazy.
Z. *nqena* (*enqena*), be indolent, sluggish, lazy.
S. *qèna*, to dislike, have an aversion, avoid, shun.

134 X. *nqhaka*, to give food to children, old people or helpless persons.
S. *qaha*, to give pap to a child by holding it against his mouth with the hand.

135 X. *i-nqhalo*, a thong by which the rider is secured from falling off a bullock when training it.
Z. *nqala*, tie tightly, bind fast.

136 X. *nqhiba*, to beg, sponge on others.
Z. *nqiba*, more usual *nxiba*, sponge on others, go about begging for food.

137 X. *i-nqhina*, a hunting party.
Z. *i-nqina*, a hunting party.
K. *!hei*, chase (Wu.).
N. *!hai*, hunt game on horseback, chase somebody.

138 X. *i-nqholowa*, wheat.
Z. *i-nqolowa*, green fodder for horses, barley, etc.
K. *!horob*, corn.
N. *!horob*, corn, grain.

139 X. *nqhufa*, to stamp with a pestle in a mortar.
um-nqhufo, stamped maize.
Z. *gqufa*, pound up, grind together, mash (but see also No. 75).
N. *!hũ*, stamp, pulverize, or ǂ*hãu*, to stamp corn (Wandres).

140 X. *i-nqina*, foot or hoof of an animal.
Z. *i-nqina*, the part above the fetlocks of an animal or about a person's ankles.

141 X. *i-nqindi*, (1) ox whose horns have been shortened by cutting off the points, (2) the fist.
Z. *nqinda*, (1) blunt, remove sharp points, cut off.
ama-nqindi, animal with the horns cut short, (2) *i-nqindi*, fist.

142 X. *um-nqini*, an animal whose tail is cut short.
Z. *nqina*, cut off the tail.
um-nqini, animal with tail cut short.

143 X. *um-nqongo*, the spinal marrow.
Z. *um-nqongo*, spinal cord.

144 X. *nqonqonqo*, interjection imitating sound of knocking.
nqonqoza, knock, as at a door.
Z. *ngqongqongqo*, ideo., of knocking.
ngqongqoza, knock, bang at a door.

145 X. *nquma*, of milk, to coagulate: of fat, to dry up; to get tough, dry, hard.
um-nqumela, tallow made of the fat of cattle.
Z. *nquma*, become solid, solidify, become hard.
isi-nqumela, congealed, hard fat.
S. *qõma*, to become dry.

146 X. *um-nquma*, the wild olive, *Olea verrucosa*.
Z. *um-nquma*, *um-nqumo*, the wild olive of the bushveld, *Olea verrucosa*.

147 X. *nqwa*, ideo., to meet with each other suddenly and unexpectedly.
Z. *nqwa*, ideo., of seeing for the first time, of coming face to face with.

148 X. *i-nqwamba*, a long strip of skin wound round the neck of an infant as a charm against evil.
Z. *i-nqwamba*, anything worn draped over the shoulders, e.g. witch-doctor's leather cloak, string of charms worn as a bandolier.

149 X. *um-nqwazi*, a covering for the head of women, being a high cap made of skin trimmed with beads; cap, bonnet, hat.
Z. *nqwaza*, don, put on the head (a head-covering).
um-nqwazi, band of fibre or bead-work worn by married women round the head.

150 X. *i-nqwelo*, a wagon.
Z. *i-nqwele*, *inqola*, the usual form. Lala: *i-ncwele*.

151 X. *nqwena*, to desire strongly, lust after, covet.
Z. *nqwena*, long, have strong desires, lust

B. DENTAL CLICK *c*

(*c, gc, ch, ngc, nc, nch*)

152 X. *caβa*, ideo., to be flat; of a woman, squat on the ground.
Z. *caβa*, ideo., of being flat, level; of sitting squat down.

153 E. *um-caβa*, boiled Kaffir-corn eaten dry or with milk.
Z. *um-caβa*, boiled mealie grains crushed on grindstone for mixing with sour milk.

154 X. *u-caβanga*, the pit of the stomach, the end of the breastbone.
Z. *u-caβanga*, the cartilage at the end of the breastbone.

155 X. *caca*, to be clear, clear up, open to view. *cacisa*, to enlighten, make clear.
Z. *chacha*, be clear, apparent, unobscured. *chachisa*, make an affair clear, explain.
S. *qaqa*, to be plain, to be evident; *qaqisa*, to explain.

156 X. *isi-caka*, a servant.
Z. *isi-chaka*, poor, poverty-stricken fellow, menial servant.
S. *se-qhaha*, poor person, servant.

159 X. *isi-cakadi*, a medicinal plant, used for women in childbirth and for opening the bowels of a newly born infant.
Z. *isi-cakathi*, species of plant, *Salvia scabra*, used as a purgative.

160 X. *cakathisa*, to be nearly ten, that is nine in number.
Z. *cakathisa*, be deficient, too few in number. (Bry., be an imperfect, a loosely ten, i.e. be nine in number.)

161 X. *caku*, ideo., *cakula*, to pick up with the point of a stick; to dip from the surface of water.
E. *um-cakulo*, drinking vessel made of a calabash.
Z. *caku*, ideo., *cakula*, scoop up liquid with ladle, etc.
isi-cakulo, ladle (of wood, calabash).

162 X. *i-cala*, side.
Z. *i-cala*, edge, outside limit, side.

163 X. *camanga*, form ideas, think, consider.
Z. *caβanga*, think, reflect, consider.

164 X. *cambalala*, to lie as cream on milk, to lie stretched out in a half drowsy, indolent manner.
Z. *cambalala*, recline, lie down to rest (not to sleep).

165 X. *canda*, to divide asunder, cleave, split.
Z. *canda*, cleave, chop up wood.

166 Z. *i-cansi*, mat made of rushes or reed.
S. *le-qase*, very fine mat made by the Matebele. Also in East Griqualand *i-cantsi*, mat made of rushes, is used.

167 X. *caphu*, ideo., *caphuka*, to nauseate, loathe; be offended, annoyed, irritated.
Z. *canu*, ideo., *canuka*, become nauseated, disgusted, become annoyed, lose one's temper; also *casu*, *casuka*.

168 X. *caphula*, E. *caphuna*, to take part of the contents of a vessel or bag by dipping into it and taking some out.
Z. *caphuna*, scoop up, take out from a dish or sack, laddle out, dip up.
S. *qaphōna*, to take a bit or handful off, without measuring.

169 Z. *caʃa*, hide away, conceal oneself.
S. *qatʃa*, to hide oneself in the veld.

170 X. *cazulula*, to tear feathers into small shreds; to unravel the most intricate subjects.
Z. *cazulula*, split right open, disentangle, unravel an affair.

171 X. *ceβa*, devise, scheme, counsel, conspire against.
Z. *ceβa*, devise, contrive, conspire against, inform against. Hlonipha term for *hleβa*, slander.
S. *qèba*, to calumniate, slander.
N. */awe*, to advise. Döhne says in his *Zulu Dictionary* that *ceba* is pronounced like *ca eβa*.

172 X. *cela*, to ask for, beg, request.
Z. *cela*, ask for, beg, request.
S. *qèla*, to ask, beg.

173 X. *cenga*, to persuade, coax, gain advantageous influence by gifts and flattery, bribe.

Z. *ncenga*, beg, entreat, coax, plead with.
S. *qèka*, to flatter, entice, decoy.

174 X. *u-cengezana*, an ox with long horns pointing outwards horizontally.
Z. *isi-cengeza*, beast with horns broadly spread out.

175 X. *um-cephe*, half a calabash used as ladle; *i-cephe*, spoon.
S. *mo-qèphè*, drinking calabash; *le-qèphè*, spoon, made of a piece of calabash.

176 X. *ceza*, to turn away or aside from the road.
Z. *ceza*, to go off to the side of the path.

177 X. *ama-ci*, devices, tactics, tricks.
Z. *i-ci*, excuse, reason.

178 X. *isi-cibilili*, South African ruddy waxbill.
Z. *isi-cibilili*, species of brown bird, with red beak.

179 X. *um-cibo*, as: *wasela ngomcibo*, he drank without leaving off.
Z. *um-cibo*, a deep draught, a long drink.

180 X. *i-cici*, ear-ring, circle.
Z. *i-cici*, ear-ring.

181 X. *cika*, to put the lid on a pot; to put a twig in a bucket full of water, to keep the water from spilling.
isi-ciko, a lid.
Z. *cika*, put leaves or branch into waterpot to prevent spilling when carrying.

182 X. *cike*, *ciki*, ideo., to be full to the brim.
Z. *ciki*, ideo., of fullness.

183 X. *cikica*, to rub the cothes soft in washing.
Z. *cikica*, rub a placel when irritated (ear, eye, etc.).

184 X. *u-cikicane*, *u-cicane*, the little finger.
Z. *u-cikicane*, little finger, little toe.

185 X. *i-ciko*, a fluent, good speaker, a good singer.
Z. *i-ciko*, person gifted in speech or singing.

186 X. *cima*, to extinguish, put out a fire or light.
Z. *cima*, extinguish, put out (as fire), go out, get extinguished.
Here also undoubtedly the original initial consonant probably *z* has been substituted by a click. Sotho has *tima*. It is an old Bantu stem *lima* found in many languages.[1]

[1] Venda *dzima*; Ila *zhima*; Ndonga *zima*; Swahili *zima*; Zigula *zima*; Rundi *zima*; Nyoro *zima*, etc.

187 X. *um-cimbi*, subject under discussion, affair, transaction, business.
Z. *um-cimbi*, purpose, object in view.

188 X. *cinezela*, to press from above, afflict, oppress.
Z. *cindezela*, exert pressure, oppress, persecute.

189 X. *u-cingo*, brass, copper or any other wire; a telegram.
Z. *u-cingo*, wire as of fence, telegraph; telegram.

190 Z. *cifa*, extinguish (fire), put out light.
cifi, ideo., of going out, extinguishing.
S. *qetfe*, ideo., to become extinguished.

191 E. *coba*, to kill lice with the finger-nails.
Z. *choba*, crush between the finger-nails (flea, louse).

192 X. *cola*, to grind fine as flour.
Z. *cola*, to grind very finely.

193 X. *um-condo*, fine, delicate limb, *in-condo*, naturally thin legs.
Z. *um-condo*, thin, scraggy, calfless leg.

194 X. *condoba*, *condobezela*, walk on tiptoe, slowly, softly, to be cautious; do, speak, teach carefully.
Z. *condo*, ideo., of walking on tiptoe.
condobezela, act with great care, handle carefully.

195 X. *cotha*, walk or creep softly, gently, on the heels, to go slowly; *cothoza*, to walk slowly.
Z. *cotho*, ideo., of acting gently, carefully, walking with shod feet; *cothoza*, the same.

196 X. *i-cuba*, tobacco.
Z. *i-cuba*, leaf of tree or tobacco.
S. *le-qōba*, leaf of tobacco, tobacco.

197 X. *cubunga*, E. *cumbungula*, to pinch off, to do the work little by little.
Z. *cubungula*, fiddle with something, waste time over work, dawdle.

198 X. *cuca*, to void small stools.
Z. *cucuza*, discharge, give forth oozings.
cuculuza, pass loose stools.

199 X. *i-cucu*, ear of cattle cut so as to hang down in strips.
Z. *i-cucu*, things all in shreds, as the ear of a

beast slit for identification purposes.

200 E. *um-cuku*, boiled ground grain mixed with Kaffir-beer instead of milk.
Z. *um-cuku*, mixture of beer dregs and young, boiled mealies.

201 X. *cula*, E. *cwila*, to sing.
Z. *cula*, sing, chant.

202 X. *cunula*, to provoke, annoy, offend, *cunuka*, to be annoyed, vexed.
Z. *cunula*, disgust, annoy, vex, offend; *cunuka*, get disgusted, annoyed.

203 X. *cutha*, to narrow, compress.
Z. *cutha*, contract, compress, draw tense (body).

204 X. *cwaka*, ideo., to be silent.
Z. *cwaka*, ideo., of quietness, calm.

205 X. *ubu-cwazi-cwazi*, brightness splendour.
Z. *cwazi*, ideo., of shining brightly.

206 X. *i-cwecwe*, any flat substance.
Z. *u-cwecwe*, thin sheet of anything, shaving, paring, thin slice.

207 Z. *cwila*, sink, dive under, *cwilisa*, immerse.
S. *qoèla*, to sink in water, *qoèlisa*, to submerge, immerse.

208 X. *gcagca*, to elope with a man.
Z. *gcagca*, go through the marriage ceremony, marry.

209 X. *gcakamela*, to sit and warm oneself in the sun, bask.
Z. *isi-gcaki*, basking place.

210 X. *isi-gcawu*, a large spider.
Z. *isi-caɓu*, any kind of venomous spider.

211 X. *gcina*, keep, hold, preserve, take care.
Z. *gcina*, keep, preserve, take care of.

212 E. *gcwala*, to be full up to the brim.
Z. *gcwala*, become full, abound in. This word is also used in East Griqualand.

213 X. *chama*, to void urine.
Z. *chama*, to urinate.
N. */kam*, to urinate.

214 X. *chambusa*, to cut a hole by piercing the ear, open a blister or boil.
Z. *chambusa*, pierce, make a hole, lance, cut open.

215 X. *i-chanti*, a fabulous snake of many colours.
Z. *i-chanti*, species of fabulous animal.

216 X. *um-chaɓo*, a plot of ground recently cleared of grass and underwood.
Z. *caɓa*, clear ground by cutting down trees, etc.
um-caɓo, piece of bush where trees have been felled.

217 X. *chapha*, to make smooth, soft or slippery.
Z. *chapha*, rub on, anoint (as on skin to soften it).

218 X. *chapha*, ideo., *chaphaża*, to pour a drop or two on, to drip, to rain in single drops.
Z. *chapha*, ideo., of dropping or squashing of liquids.
chaphaza, dot about with drops, splash.
S. *ma-qapha-qapha*, splashes, spots made on the ground by beer.
qaphatsa, to splash.

219 X. *chatha*, ideo., *chathaza*, to pour out or drop a little with care.
Z. *chatha*, ideo., *chathaza*, pour out in small quantities.
S. *qathatsa*, to drop, to pour a very little of a liquid.

220 Z. *chatha*, administer an enema.
S. *qatha*, to give an enema.

221 X. *chaza*, to make a line of incisions, explain, make clear.
Z. *chaza*, make incisions, tatoo, reveal, explain.

222 X. *isi-cheko*, a drop or small quantity of something liquid.
Z. *isi-ceke*, small quantity of liquid.

223 X. *isi-cheme*, a muzzle for calves to preven them from sucking.
Z. *isi-cheme*, muzzle or thorny mouth-band for calves to prevent them from sucking.

224 X. *i-chibi*, a pool, lake, pond.
Z. *i-chibi*, large stretch of water, pond, dam, lake.

225 Z. *chicha*, discharge, give forth oozings, ooze out, trickle out.
S. *qeqa*, to ooze, to leak out, to drop, drip.

226 X. *chintsa*, to use enchantments before proceeding on a warlike expedition.
Z. *chinsa*, spurt out from the mouth; *ukuchinsa uselwa*, to perform the squirting ceremony at the feast of the first fruits, when the Zulu king squirted out a

liquid concoction and various herbs and charms (over his supposed enemies, Bry.).

N. */kei* to spurt a small jet of water out of the mouth.

227 X. *chitha*, scatter, destroy, spill, waste.

Z. *chitha*, scatter, waste, throw away, spill, destroy.

S. *qhetha*, to pour out, *qhethèha*, get scattered, to scatter.

228 X. *imi-chiza*, wet, green, damp firewood.

Z. *imi-chiza*, wet firewood.
chiza, drizzle, be damp.

229 X. *ulu-chwe*, saliva of man, *izi-chwe*, saliva of animals.

Z. *u-ce, u-gce*, dribbling, saliva (as from mouth of child or idiot).

S. *qhenqhe*, and *nqhenqhe*, slobber, saliva of children.

230 X. *u-chochoyi*, the crown of the head; a pinnacle, conical top of a mountain.

Z. *isi-coco*, crown of a hut, pinnacle of a building.

231 X. *i-cholocholo*, *Helichrysum undifolium* used for colds.

Z. *i-cholocholo*, *Helichrysum undifolium*, everlasting flower.

232 X. *uɓu-chopho*, the brain.

Z. *uɓu-copho*, brain.

233 X. *isi-chotho*, hurricane with rain and hail.

Z. *isi-chotho*, hail.

234 X. *u-chuku*, trifle which a quarrelsome man makes a source of annoyance.
chukela, be annoyed, quarrel about trifles.

Z. *u-chuku*, quarrelsome, irritating nature, that which continually causes variance; trouble.

235 X. *chuma*, to bear abundantly, flourish, be fruitful.

Z. *chuma*, bear abundantly, multiply, prosper.

S. *qhōma*, be abundant for, plentiful.

236 X. *chumbusa*, to bore the ears for inserting ear-rings, lance a boil.

Z. *chumbusa*, perforate, pierce, make a hole, cf. No. 214, *chambusa*.

237 X. *i-chweɓa*, a lagoon of clear, still water at a river's mouth.

Z. *i-chweɓa*, lagoon as at mouth of river, separated from the sea, large sheet of seawater (as small enclosed bay).

238 X. *i-ngcelwane*, white spotted aloe, *Aloe saponaria*.

Z. *i-ngcelwane*, *Bulbine aloides*.

239 X. *i-ngcili*, a worm commonly found in the intestines.

Z. *i-ngcili*, tapeworm.

S. *qele*, tapeworm, intestinal worm.

240 X. *i-ngcoɓo*, a number of stalks of reedgrass standing together by the side of water.

Z. *i-ngcoɓe*, species of rush, *Cyperus textilis*.

241 X. *i-ngcola*, a spear with a short blade and long iron neck for throwing.

Z. *i-ngcula*, assegai with a very long shank and small blade.

242 X. *ngcwele*, pure, undefiled, holy.

Z. *ngcwele*, pure, holy.

243 X. *i-ncaluɓa*, *i-ncaluka*, a plant of the order *Iridaceae*, possibly *Hypoxis*.

Z. *i-ncaluka*, species of shrub, *Hypoxis*.

244 X. *i-ncaphe*, *isa-ngcaphe*, the South African stone chat, *Pratincola torquatus*.

Z. *i-ncaphe*, stone chat, *Saxicola torquata*.

245 X. *nceda*, help, assist, aid.

Z. *nceda*, assist, aid, help.

246 X. *i-nceku*, originally an officer of the royal house-hold on whom the king leans and who presents the food to the king; now beloved one.

Z. *i-nceku*, official in a chief's kraal whose duty it is to look after the food and transact important business; butler, attendant.

247 X. *ncela*, of a calf, to suck the last drop of milk.

Z. *ncela*, suck (milk, blood, etc.).

248 X. *um-ncele*, tall grass used for thatching.

Z. *um-ncele*, species of fine thatching-grass.

249 X. *i-ncede*, the tawny-headed grass warbler, *Cisticolla fulvicapilla*.

Z. *u-ngcede*, fantail warbler, also *i-ncethe*.

250 X. *i-ncembu*, the edible bulb of the blue lily.

Z. *i-ncembu*, species of tulip, *Brunsvigia candelabra;* white bulbous root edible.

251 X *ncetheza*, give private information, inform against, betray, calumniate.

Z. *ncethexa*, gossip, tell tales.

252 X. *i-ncha*, general term for grass.
Z. *i-nca*, *i-ngca*, fine thatching grass.

253 X. *nchamla*, to taste a thing as food; to take only a little.
Z. *ncamu*, ideo., of smacking the lips, tasting something pleasant.

254 X. *i-nchathu*, one who is sober, moderate.
Z. *uɓu-ncathu*, moderation, caution, temperance, asceticism.

255 X. *i-nchiɓi*, a mechanic, skilled labourer.
Z. *i-ngciɓi*, a wise man (cf. *isazi*, expert).

256 X. *nchola*, be foul, dirty, unclean, polluted.
Z. *ngcola*, be dirty, get dirty.

257 X. *i-nchuka*, brown hyena or strandwolf.
Z. *i-ncuke*, hyena.
K. */hu-khã-b*, hyena.

258 X. *i-nchunchu*, generic term for the sugar-bird or honey-sucker.
Z. *i-ncuncu*, *i-ncwincwi*, honey-sucker.

259 X. *um-nchunuɓe*, the willow tree.
Z. *um-gcunuɓe*, Cape willow, *Salix capensis*.
K. *ǂhũib*, willow tree.
N. *ǂhũib*, willow tree.

260 X. *nchwaɓa*, to bury, inter; *i-nchwaɓa*, the grave.
Z. *ngcwaɓa*, bury; *i-ngcwaɓa*, grave.
K. */hoba-b*, grave, */howab* (Wu.).
N. */howas*, grave.

261 X. *nci*, little, *ncinci*, small, *ncinane*, little, small.
Z. *nci*, tiny, very small, *ncinyane*, very small, *ncane*, small, little.
K. */a*, small.
N. */ga*, small.
There is an old Bantu stem for small *,nî, nyî*.[1] Sotho has *nyenyane*. It seems that under Hottentot influence the click has been added to the original Bantu word.

262 X. *i-nci*, the aard–wolf, *Proteles cristatus*.
Z. *isi-nci*, *isingci*, aard-wolf, *Proteles cristatus*.

263 Z. *nciɓilikana*, melt, become liquid, fluid.
S. *qhibiliha*, or *ŋ́gibiliha*, to melt.
Xhosa has *nyiɓilika*.

[1] Lenje *nini*, small, little, Kuanyama *nini*, Kikuyu *nini*, *nyinyi*, etc.

264 X. *ncinda*, to dip or sop a finger into gravy, soup, honey, fat and to eat with the hand.
Z. *ncinda*, suck from the finger-tips, sip from the fingers.

265 X. *ncipha*, to grow less, to decline.
Z. *ncipha*, be diminished, become less in size, number, quality, quantity.
S. *qepha*, to diminish, to decrease. cf. 261 *nci*.

266 X. *nco*, of cattle, red and white.
Z. *nco*, beast (ox, cow) speckled red and white.
N. */ho*, speckled black and white.

267 X. *ncokola*, converse, chat, joke; *i-ncoko*, jester, joker.
Z. *ncokola*, joke, make fun.

268 X. *ncoma*, to speak highly, admire, commend, value highly.
Z. *ncoma*, give a favourable report on, praise, admire, recommend.
S. *qomisa*, or *ŋ́gomisa*, to praise.

269 X. *i-ncombo*, unripe, green Kaffir-corn, not yet red.
Z. *i-ncombo*, small grain of Kaffir-corn, small light-yellow bead.

270 X. *um-ncono*, the remains of sour milk left in milksack or calabash.
Z. *um-ncono*, last small portion of excrement discharged by a person, believed to be sought after by witches for purposes of black magic.

271 X. *nchothula*, pull out, root out weeds; pluck out pins of a tent.
Z. *ncothula*, pull off, pluck up, remove (*ncontula*, *ncodula*, *ngcothula*).

272 X. *um-ncunzela*, the last milk of the cow after the second milking.
Z. *um-ncunze* the milking of a cow more than the regular twice daily.

273 Z. *i-ncwaɓi*, cat, wild cat.
S. *qoabi*, wild cat, *felis caffra*.
K. */hoab*, cat (male), */hoas*, cat (female).
N. */hoas*, cat.

274 X. *i-ncwadi*, Gift-bol, *Buphane disticha;* the coats of this bulb are very numerous and thin, transparent and silky; hence: a book, letter, paper, pane of glass.

Z. *i-ncwadi*, Fire lily, *Buphane disticha;* letter, document, book.

275 X. *ncwe*, ideo., of the sky or of open country, to be perfectly clear without anything to obstruct the vision; *ulu-ncwe*, bare, open, treeless country.

Z. *ncwe*, ideo., of barrenness, of clearness of vision, of openness of country or sky; *u-ncwe*, bare, treeless country.

276 E. *ncweba*, to take a pinch of snuff.

Z. *ncweba*, take a pinch or small quantity with the fingertips (snuff, powder, etc.).

277 X. *ncwela*, to cut a narrow strip as a thong for a whip, to cut out a dress; to make thin, smooth; to trim.

Z. *ncwela*, cut round, trim off smoothly.

278 X. *ncwina*, to moan, sigh, whine.

Z. *ncwina*, complain, show discontent, whine.

C. LATERAL CLICK *x*

(*x*, *gx*, *xh*, *ngx*, *nx*, *nxh*)

279 X. *i-xa*, time, *xa*, when.

Z. *nxa*, when, if.

N. *//aib*, time.

280 X. *isi-xa*, bunch of grass or flowers.

Z. *isi-xha*, bundle (small bundle of firewood, grass, etc., Bry.).

281 X. *xaba*, bar entrance by placing bar across; lie across (as bone stuck in throat).

xabana, to be cross with one another, quarrel.

Z. *xaba*, block the way, stand crosswise.

xabana, quarrel.

S. *qaba*, *qabana*, to quarrel.

282 X. *xabe-xabe*, ideo., to cut up.

xabela, to hack, chop to pieces.

Z. *i-xa*, cheeks or chops on the side of a beast's head cut off along with the ear.

N. *//ha*, hack.

283 X. *xaka*, puzzle, annoy, obstruct, hinder.

Z. *xaka*, place in difficulties, put in a fix, block the way.

284 X. *xakazela*, to be in a great hurry, to prepare quickly.

Z. *xakazela*, bustle about.

285 X. *xafa*, ideo., touch feebly as to leave light impression.

Z. *faxa*, (transposition of consonants) ideo., of indenting, giving way (of something soft).

286 X. *u-xam*, monitor, *Varanus niloticus*.

Z. *u-xamu*, monitor lizard, *Monitor niloticus*.

S. *qamo*, the Iguana lizard.

287 X. *xanda*, to stool out; to spread out, of branches; to be fruitful.

Z. *xhanta*, send out new shoots, branch out, bear fruit.

288 Z. *xangalasa*, *xangalaza*, walk with legs wide apart.

S. *qakalatsa*, to stretch out the legs.

289 X. *isi-xathula*, a shoe.

Z. *isi-cathulo*, shoe, boot, sandal (originally applied to Native leather sandals used by warriors when travelling long distances).

290 X. *xathuka*, to become loose; of plaster or lime on wall, to crack.

Z. *xathuka*, peel off, come off in cakes (as paint).

S. *qathōha*, to peel off.

291 X. *isi-xaxa*, a kind of big toad.

S. *se-qaqa*, a kind of large toad.

292 X. *xaxaza*, to be afflicted with diarrhoea, purge.

Z. *gxagxaza*, *xhaxhaza*, leak extensively, drip abundantly.

293 X. *xenga*, be loose, rock about, as rickety chair.

Z. *xega*, to be loose, rickety, shaky.

um-xegexege, loose, shaky animal or thing.

S. *le-qekiqeki*, shakiness.

N. *//ei*, to decay from being old.

294 X. *xilonga*, to blow a bugle or trumpet, to play on any wind instrument.
i-xilongo, a hollow reed, any wind instrument, trumpet.
Z. *i-xilongo*, trumpet (Natal dialect).
i-cilongo, Native trumpet made of a long reed with oxhorn fixed to the end; trumpet, bugle.

295 X. *xina*, press against an object or person.
Z. *xhina*, compel, bring pressure upon.
N. *//gãi*, press.

296 X. *xoka*, tell lies, speak loosely.
Z. *xoka*, tell lies, be shifty.

297 X. *xoko-xoko*, ideo., to make a noise.
xokozela, make a great confused noise; to speak loudly and confusedly.
Z. *xoko*, ideo., of hubbub, loud talking.
xokozela, talk loudly, make a hubbub.

298 X. *xola*, be satisfied, appeased; *xolela*, forgive, pardon.
u-xolo, peace, pardon.
Z. *xola*, be peaceful, be at peace, content.
xolela, forgive, pardon.
u-xolo, peace, pardon, forgiveness.

299 X. *i-xolo*, the outer bark of a tree.
Z. *i-xolo*, *i-gxolo*, bark of a tree.

300 X. *xovu*, ideo., to step into mud.
xovula, to tread with the feet, as clay for bricks; to knead bread.
Z. *xova*, mix up by treading (as mud), or kneading (as dough).

301 X. *xoxa*, discuss, converse in a friendly manner.
Z. *xoxa*, narrate, tell, converse, chat.
S. *qoqa*, chat, chatter, talk to, tell to.

302 X. *i-xoxo*, a species of frog, *Rana adspersa*.
Z. *i-xoxo*, frog.
S. *se-qoqoana*, a kind of frog.

303 X. *xoza*, to strip bark of a tree, to remove the outside of a pumpkin.
ingxozi, the finer, inner bast of the mimosa tree.
Z. *xoza*, chip off, pare off, smooth off.
inxoza, fibre.
S. *qotsa*, to peel a pumpkin by chopping its skin off.

304 X. *xuba*, to mix up together things of different kinds.
Z. *xuba*, mingle together, mix together.

305 X. *xumbu*, ideo., to rush headlong into water.
Z. *gxumbu*, ideo., of sound of stone falling in a pool.
gxumbuza, drop into the water; let a heavy object fall into the water.
S. *qōpu*, ideo., to fall into water.

306 X. *xuxuzela*, of the bowels, to rumble.
Z. *xhuxhu*, ideo., of rumbling (as of stomach).
S. *qupusela*, to rumble (of the bowels).

307 X. *isi-xwemba*, a flat stone slab.
Z. *isi-xwembe*, broad, flat object.

308 X. *isi-xwexwe*, anything broad and flat, as a slab or a table.
Z. *isi-xwexwe*, broad, flat object (as a sheet of iron).

309 X. *xwi*, ideo., *xwila*, catch up, snatch up, pounce upon.
Z. *xula*, seize up, grab at, catch unawares.

310 X. *isi-xwila*, generic name for the kingfisher.
Z. *isi-xula*, pied kingfisher, blue kingfisher.

311 X. *isi-gxa*, a place at once stony and bushy.
Z. *isi-gxa*, thick jungle.

312 X. *ulu-gxa*, any sharp, pointed stick or iron rod for digging up roots.
Z. *u-gxa*, digging stick, stake or iron rod for digging; doctor's stick for digging up roots.

313 X. *gxabuza*, to splash in water, as when one is crossing a stream; also *gxampuza*, to paddle in water, wade.
Z. *gxambuza*, run through water, as children playing.

314 X. *gxada*, ideo., to pay a hasty visit.
Z. *gxada*, stride out, take long steps.

315 X. *i-gxalaba*, shoulder, shoulder-blade.
Z. *i-gxalaba*, one of the dorsal vertebrae, lying between the shoulder-blades; shoulder.
N. *//garab*, shoulder-blade.

316 X. *u-gxam*, the Boerbean, *Schotia latifolia*, bark used for dying red.
Z. *u-gxamu*, species of timber tree, *Schotia latifolia*, bark producing red dye.

317 X. *gxeka*, deride, mock, scorn.

Z. *gxeka*, speak evil of, belittle, slander.

318 X. *gxotha*, drive away; E. *xotʃa*.
Z. *xoʃø*, drive away, expel, chase.

319 X. *gxume*, ideo., *gxumeka*, to drive a stake or pole into the ground.
Z. *gxume*, ideo., of planting, sticking, piercing.
gxumeka, plant, stick in the ground.

320 X. *i-gxwemi*, *i-gxwemu*, a squinting cross-eyed person.
Z. *nxwema*, squint, be shortsighted.
i-nxwemu, *i-nxemu*, *i-ngxemu*, cross-eyed person who squints.
N. cf. *//hoe-mũse*, one-eyed.

321 Z. *xhaka*, put out shoots of new growth.
S. *qhahela*, to produce shoots besides the main stem (Kaffir-corn).

322 Z. *i-xhama*, woman's fibre or grass girdle.
S. *le-qhaama*, belt.

323 X. *isi-xhanti*, the vertebral column or spine.
Z. *isi-xhanti*, upper dorsal vertebrae.

324 X. *xhapha*, to lap with the tongue, as a dog in drinking.
Z. *xhapha*, lap up (as dog or cat).
S. *qhapha*, lap up, lap.

325 X. *xhapha-xhapha*, to bubble up, boil as water.
Z. *xhapha*, sputter when boiling, bubble and boil, seethe.
S. *qapha*, to boil, to go up and down in a boiling pot.

326 X. *xhasa*, to put something under, support, maintain.
Z. *xasa*, support, help, sustain.

327 X. *i-xhego*, an old man.
Z. *i-xhegu*, old man.
S. *le-qheku*, old person.

328 X. *xhoɓa*, to prepare for fight or war.
izi-xhoɓo, weapons for war; *i-xhoɓa*, spoil, booty.
Z. *xoɓa*, according to Bry. also = *hloma*, arm, take up one's weapons for a fight.

329 X. *isi-xhoɓo*, a stony, rocky region or ledge.
Z. *isi-xhoɓo*, collection of stones and rocks.

330 X. *xhokonxa*, *xhokoʃa*, to rouse a snake by probing with a stick; stir up, provoke, anger.
Z. *xhokoxha*, poke at, prod, irritate.

331 X. *xhoma*, hang up, as on rope or hook.
Z. *xhoma*, hang up, hang on a peg; impale (as on stake).

332 X. *um-xhopho*, a kind of grass spread on the hut-floor at an *intonjane*.
Z. *um-xhopho*, species of marsh-grass.

333 X. *xhoxha*, to stab fallen or dead game with an assegai; stir up, provoke, anger.
Z. *xhoxha*, jab; stab repeatedly, prod.

334 X. *xhu*, ideo., *xhuma*, to bound, leap up, jump up and down in the same place, as Natives in dancing.
Z. *xhu*, ideo., of jumping, hopping.
xhuma, leap, spring up, bound, jump.

335 Z. *xhwala*, be chronically sick.
S. *qhoala*, to be very ill.

336 X. *i-xhwane*, a lamb or kid.
Z. *isi-xhuxhwane*, frisking kid or lamb.

337 Z. *i-xhwele*, intemperate person, one who indulges in certain habits (drinking, smoking, gambling, etc.).
S. *le-qhoèlè*, hemp smoker.

338 X. *u-ngxengezi*, a generic name for several species of warbler.
Z. *i-ŋgxengezi*, species of small bird which inhabits reed; *i-nxenge*, small bird resembling a warbler.

339 X. *i-nxa*, side, part.
Z. *i-nxa*, portion, share, part, side.
S. *nqa*, or *'ŋ́a*, side.

340 X. *i-nxadi*, a badly formed head, resembling that of an owl.
Z. *isi-nxadi*, person with head always held to one side.

341 X. *i-nxala*, the Rooi rhebuck, *Cervicapra fulvorufula*.
Z. *i-nxala*, rhebuck, *Cervicapra Lalandii*.
S. *le-qala*, Rood reebok, *Cervicapra Calaudii*.

342 X. *nxanela*, thirst for, desire, long; *u-nxano*, thirst.
Z. *nxanela*, desire ardently, be bent on.
K. *//ã*, be thirsty.
N. *//gã*, be thirsty.

343 X. *i-nxeɓa*, a wound.
Z. *i-nxeɓa*, wound.
S. *le-qeba*, or *le-ŋ́eba*, wound.

344 X. *um-nxeɓa*, generic term for the wild vine,

used for binding the thatch on hut-roofs and for basket making.

Z. *um-nxeba*, fibre (Bry., small or single piece of fibre or tendon).

345 X. *i-nxele*, a left handed person.

Z. *i-nxele*, left handed person.

S. *le-qèlè*, left hand, left handed person.

K. *//'are*, left.

N. *//are*, left.

346 X. *nxhe*, ideo., *nxhenxhezela*, ask favour, appease, pacify.

Z. *nxenxa*, coax, make friend with an animal as by patting it.

347 X. *nxhwele ʇa*, to wound in a fight or battle.

Z. *i-nxweleha*, person who has killed another in battle.

348 X. *i-nxibo*, bond, fastening, tie.

Z. *um-nxibo*, headstall of cow being milked.

349 X. *i-nxiwa*, *i-nxowa*, *i-nxuwa*, a deserted village whether the huts are still standing or not.

Z. *i-nxiwa*, kraal-site, site of an abandoned kraal.

350 Z. *i-nxusa*, messenger sent by a king or chief.

S. *le-qosa*, or *le-ŋgosa*, messenger, ambassador.

D. WORDS WHICH HAVE CLICKS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE STEM

Such words seem to be more numerous in Zulu than in Xhosa. In Sotho there are only a very few. It is not easy to find words in Hottentot from which they might have been derived.

351 X. *baqa*, to come, spring upon one suddenly; to surprise.

Z. *baqa*, come upon unexpectedly; light upon.

352 X. *im-baxa*, a branch of anything, a tributary of a river, a forked stick.

Z. *im-baxa*, branch of a forked river, road or tree; tributary.

353 X. *bexeza*, to move the upper part of the body in swimming or running, bringing the shoulders forward and backward with a swinging motion.

Z. *bexezela*, walk with heavy, swinging gait.

354 X. *im–*, or *um-bikicane*, the goose-foot, *Chenopodium ambrosioides*.

Z. *im-bikicane*, goose-foot plant.

355 X. *binqa*, to gird the loins; to bind any clothing around the hips.

Z. *binca*, gird on, wear round the loins.

356 X. *u-boqo*, the large convulvulus, *Pharbitis hispida*.

Z. *u-boqo*, several species of *Ipomaea*, purple flowering, with bulbous roots; cf. K. *!'ob*, bulb of the veld, N. *!go-!gob*, a poisonous bulb. The Nguni word seems to have been derived from this word by transposition of consonants.

357 X. *boxa*, disturb, mix up, scatter; impede, be obstinate, interfere.

Z. *boxa*, mix up, tread, puddle (as cattle in mud); make a mess of a matter.

358 X. *buca*, to mix together with the hand as mortar, porridge, paste.

Z. *buca*, crush up, mix with the hand (as paste).

359 X. *buqa*, to destroy, trample down as cattle in a garden, make havoc.

Z. *buqa*, devastate, destroy completely, wipe out, tread down.

360 X. *buxe*, ideo., to be fixed, stand firm.

Z. *buxe*, ideo., of being firmly fixed, immovably placed.

361 X. *foca*, to press or squeeze.

Z. *foca*, squeeze out, press out, wring out.

362 X. *fongqo*, ideo., to arch the body, as a springbuck in leaping up or as a caterpillar in moving.

Z. *fongqa*, crumple up together, bend up.

363 X. *funqula*, to raise or lift a heavy burden.

Z. *fuqa*, lift a heavy load.

364 Z. *fuquka*, belch out, puff out, as smoke.

S. *fōqōha*, to appear (of many people, of smoke).

365 X. *i-gangxa*, one who does a thing imperfectly.

Z. *i-ganxa*, an inexperienced imitator.

366 X. *i-gaqa*, a lump of sugar, salt or any other substance.

Z. *i-gaqa*, compact lump.

367 X. *gaqa*, creep on hand and knees.
Z. *gaqa*, creep on hand and knees, crawl.

368 X. *gexa*, stagger, totter.
i-gexegexe, that which is broken, rickety.
Z. *gexa*, walk unsteadily; hang loosely, be rickety; cf. No. 293, *xenga*, *xega*.

369 X. *gonqa*, to remain always at home.
Z. *gonqa*, retire, live in retirement; be confined, secluded.

370 X. *goqa*, to shut, close, bar or lock up (kraal, house); to ward off a blow.
Z. *goqa*, bar a door or gate.

371 X. *goqoza*, of a wagon, to make a rattling sound.
Z. *goqoza*, rattle, creak as wagon.

372 X. *gungqu*, ideo., to struggle, writhe, rock about with a rolling motion.
Z. *gungqu*, ideo., of rolling about.

373 X. *gungquza*, to make a noise by rocking, knocking, rattling.
Z. *gungquza*, rattle, clatter, rumble.

374 X. *guqa*, stoop, bend the knee, kneel down.
Z. *guqa*, kneel, bend the knee, stoop.
S. *koqa*, kneel.

375 X. *guqu*, ideo., to change one's state; *guquka*, to turn, come back, be converted, repent; *guqula*, to turn over, cause one to turn back.
Z. *guqu*, ideo., of turning over, changing; *guquka*, undergo change, turn round; *guqula*, change, alter, turn, turn over.

376 X. *gwanqa*, light brown or bay.
Z. *gwaqa*, dark coloured, of medium hue.
in-gwangqa, dark colour.

377 Z. *um-gwaqo*, main, large track, highway, wagon-road.
S. *mo-kwaqo*, road making; also in East Griqualand *um-gwaqo* used for highway, wagon-road.

378 X. *gwenxa*, crooked, perverse, wrong.
Z. *i-gwenxe*, a crooked or bowed object.

379 X. *i-ɣamnco*, a voracious person, a glutton.
Z. *isi-hamuncana*, voracious person, never satisfied.

380 X. *ɣaqa*, to do work round about an object; surround, encircle.
Z. *haqa*, surround, enclose, encircle.
N. *xa*, surround, *xa–ǂa*, besiege (*x* in these words is the unvoiced velar fricative).

381 X. *ɣolokoqo*, a very thin and lean-fleshed person or animal.
Z. *u-holokoqo*, long slender bodied person or animal.

382 X. *ɣoqo*, ideo., to draw in the legs.
Z. *hoqa*, draw in (as legs, or as a snail its feelers).

383 X. *ɣoqoza*, to crawl, as a snake.
Z. *hoqoza*, shuffle along, drag oneself along with difficulty.

384 X. *ɣoxa*, to move back, retreat, withdraw a proposal.
Z. *hoxa*, draw in, hide, withdraw.

385 X. *ɣuquza*, of a lame person, to drag one's limbs along.
Z. *huquza*, crawl on hands and knees, creep along.

386 X. *i-ɣwanqa*, (1) a black or red ox with spots on the face and a white belly; (2) a man with large, bushy whiskers.
Z. *i-hwanqa*, (1) animal with black hair plentifully mixed with grey; (2) bewhiskered man.

387 X. *um-jwaqu*, a very lean animal.
Z. *um-jwaqu*, thin, emaciated person or animal.

388 X. *khenkceza*, to tinkle, jingle, ring like a small bell.
Z. *khenceza*, make a ringing sound, tinkle, clink.

389 X. *kɣeqa*, saw, hack with a knife.
Z. *heqa*, slash, slice about, hack.

390 X. *i-kɣexe*, a paramour.
kɣexeza, to commit adultery.
Z. *hwixiza*, lead an immoral life.
K. *xai-//'aĩ*, to marry (*x* again in this Hottentot word is not the lateral click but the unvoiced velar fricative).

391 X. *phoxa*, to put to shame; make a fool of one; to deride, mock.
Z. *phoxa*, act foolishly towards; cause to feel stupid; embarrass.

392 X. *phucuka*, slip off, have the outer skin rubbed off, abraded; have been bruised

or chafed; become civilized, polished.
Z. *phucuka*, become smooth, be planed, rubbed smooth, worn down, be polished, get civilized.

393 X. *ʃenxa*, to move aside, out of the way.
Z. *ʃenxa*, move along a little.

394 X. *ʃici*, ideo., *ʃicila*, to press.
ʃicilela, to make an impression by pressing, to print.
Z. *sici*, ideo., *sicila*, make an impression, stamp register.
sicilela, seal up, register, stamp.

395 X. *ama-ʃiqa*, the sediments or dregs of Kaffir-beer.
Z. *ama-ʃiqa*, dregs of beer.

396 X. *ʃunqu*, ideo., *ʃunquka*, to be broken off short and suddenly.
S. *ʃōqō*, ideo., to break; to break or cut clean.
ʃōqōha, to break (of a rope).

397 X. *isi-ʃuqu*, *isi-ʃuqulu*, a big bundle.
Z. *isi-ʃuqulu*, large bundle.

398 X. *um-thuqwa*, a tawny, fox-coloured ox.
Z. *um-thuqwa*, greyish, dust-coloured beast.

According to Kropf-Godfrey's Dictionary, Xhosa has 2,110 words commencing with clicks—derivatives not counted—and another 285 words containing clicks in the middle of the word-stem, a total of 2,395. Of these Xhosa has 376 in common with Zulu and Sotho, for 22 of the words given in the list above are common to Zulu and Sotho only. It shows that a little more than 2,000 click-words belong to Xhosa only and will not be understood by the Zulu, just as the Zulu will have probably an equal number of click-words which are foreign to Xhosa. Thus it can be seen that a relatively small part of click-words was acquired by the Nguni when they were still together and that the bulk of the present stock of these words was taken over after the tribes had separated.

As regards the Xhosa it seems that the Hottentot tribe with which they had finally come into the closest contact were the so-called Gona or Gonaqua. J. S. Marais in his excellent book *The Cape Coloured People*, 1652–1937 (Longmans Green and Co., London: 1939) devotes one chapter to the Colonial Hottentots, from which I may be allowed to quote the following passage: "As a result either of conquest or alliance, the Damaqua tribe of Hottentots had by 1775 become mixed up to such an extent with the Amatinde tribe of Xhosas, that it had ceased to exist as a separate entity. A similar fate overtook the Gonaquas, though in their case the incorporation with the Xhosas seems to have been definitely a peaceful process. According to Xhosa traditions, a new tribe of Xhosas, the Gqunukwebe came into existence towards the end of the seventeenth century, incorporating both Bantu and Gonaquas. But only a section of the Gonaqua tribe was thus incorporated: the rest preserved their identity as Hottentots for some time longer. By 1752, however, even these Gonaquas were living among the Xhosas and rapidly adopting their language and customs. In 1825 a Wesleyan missionary working among the Xhosas, wrote that the Gonaquas 'have long been completely blended and intermixed with all the tribes in Cafferland, and can no longer be recognised as a distinct race.' Nevertheless in the 1840's the term Gona was still frequently used in the Eastern Colony to designate a Xhosa whose colour and general appearance approached those of the Hottentots."

It is a great pity that nothing of the language of the Gonaqua has been recorded although few words of the Cape Hottentots were occasionally noted by travellers. It is however beyong doubt that they have left a great part of their vocabulary as a lasting heritage to the Xhosa.

BOOK IN REVIEW

Geschichte der Anthropologie, W. E. MUEHLMANN (Universitaetsverlag: Bonn: 1948.) 274 pp. This handbook is a survey of old and modern anthropological theories and so provides a good and useful summary for anyone in search of rapid information. It ends with chronologically brief notes on the more important persons who have influenced the course of anthropology as well as with a list of the more important modern books on the subject. This biographical summary is split up under such headings as: methodology, anthropology, culture, sociology, religious ethnography, social psychology and culture contacts. The author also includes books on phylogenetics and race problems, because his approach to anthropology stresses the aspect of a comparative study of man. Related studies such as heredity, psychology, prehistory, comparative philology, religion and philosophy are likewise touched on because of their intimate connexion with anthropology.

Muehlmann devotes 25 pages to Anthropology in antiquity and the Middle Ages. Under the heading "Development of modern Anthropology" the first period he deals with is 1685–1775, which he describes as the time, where thinking historically began ; then after a classical period which he fixes as 1775–1810, began the development of modern Anthropology by the birth of evolution and evolutionary ideas. The years 1860–90 he regards as the period when the different branches of modern anthropology came into being as a result of the evolutionary outlook which postulated basic principles such as psychic unity and unilateral evolution to explain, and to account for, culture and society and religion.

Muehlmann refers to these years as "die elementarische Epoche" and shows its danger, e.g. to look upon man as a museum specimen dividing his culture into a spiritual and a materialistic one. He shows clearly, how race, sociology, history come to the fore, whilst the special outlook of such famous anthropologists, as Bastian, Tylor, Ratzel and many others, is not neglected.

From 1890 onward, due to the successful researches on human biology, heredity, race and psychology the balanced historical perspective on man can be seen most clearly, better than before, when Bastian, Tylor, Spencer tried to find a synthesis. Anthropologists are again dealing with the problems of race, economics, sociology, culture contacts, religion, and are now able to avoid the former antithetic thinking that prejudiced the various disciplines.

Here the aim of the author clearly appears. He not only wants to describe the history of anthropology but also to make acceptable a universalistic point of view. Therefore he carefully shows, how various aspects of it have developed and how different theories or schools of anthropology have influenced each other and had in turn been influenced by sociology, psychology and philosophy.

Muehlmann agrees with Cooly (p. 167), who in 1902 attacked the one-sided, idealistically historical approach to anthropology as well as the ultra-materialistic one. Any school or theory must invetably be one-sided and, quoting the Russian anthropologist Sorokin (1937), Muehlmann says that the modern anthropologist should not be an adherent of a single school or theory but should strike a balance between rival theories (p. 244). He stresses the need to combine these various approaches so as to lead to future development and considers that a universal historical perspective will one day develop: a perspective already climpsed by earlier scientists, who, however, were not able to bring it into being (p. 157).

The author shows a wide grasp of his subject, consequent upon a vast amount of reading and has admirably compressed his knowledge into the short space of 274 pages. As the volume is a summary it would be unfair to criticize any single aspect of it. The summary is well done and the book can be confidently recommended to lecturers and students alike as providing a clear outline of the intricacies and problems that have faced, and still face, anthropologists. A. SCHMIDT.

EARLY BA-FOKENG ROCK SHELTER DWELLINGS AT NTLO-KHOLO

JAMES WALTON

SYNOPSIS

In the extensive rock shelter of Ntlo-Kholo, in Basutoland, are remains of dwellings which have been in continued use for over two centuries. Instead of demolishing the old structure and replacing it by a new, the practice has been followed of adding the new huts to those already existing. In this way a complete evolutionary sequence has been preserved, affording a rare picture of an early eighteenth-century Bantu settlement and the subsequent changes which it has undergone. Somewhat similar structures exist elsewhere but generally these are of later date and were built as places of refuge during the Nguni devastations.

STUDENTS of African folk culture and particularly folk building are often faced with a lack of historical data owing to the merging of individual cultures in quite recent times. Within the last twenty years traditional house types such as the corbelled stone hut of the Ba-Tsoeneng and Ba-Taung have been completely replaced by the rondavel or the rectangular house. Culture contacts have tended to efface the former tribal individuality and a study of present-day cultures often throws little light on early tribal movements and associations. It is all the more valuable, therefore, when a site exists which has been in continued occupation over a number of centuries and where each stage of development has been preserved. Such is the case at Ntlo-Kholo in Basutoland.

Ntlo-Kholo, "the great house", is an extensive amphitheatre (Plate I) set in the mountain of the same name and adjoining Moshesh's stronghold of Thaba Bosiu. Half-way up the rock face wind and rain have excavated a narrow ledge out of the soft red beds underlying the Cave Sandstone to produce a continuous rock shelter extending for over half a mile. It is terminated at each end by rocky streams one of which emerges from the large cave after which the mountain is named. Access to this rocky ledge can only be gained at each end and by means of a steep path up the rock face in the centre. It commands a wide view and is an almost impregnable position. It was occupied in Wilton times, as the abundance of stone implements indicates, then by the Bushmen, later by the first Bantu invaders of the country and it has been continuously occupied ever since.

Those who lived on this rocky platform constructed huts simply by building a wall to enclose part of the cave and by employing the overhanging rock as the roof. They were built in clusters with common walls serving two or three huts. The earliest are situated to the rear of the rock shelter and later huts were tacked on to them, thus providing a complete evolutionary sequence.

Hut group A consists of three huts and is undoubtedly the oldest cluster, the one marked "a" being the first to be built. The original entrance was a circular opening, 18 inches in diameter and about 9 inches above ground level (Fig. v). According to tradition such doorways were constructed in order to keep out wild animals. No comparable examples are found in any of the Ba-Sotho huts to-day but far to the north, in the Nuba Mountains of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the Moro dwellings have entrances which are apparently identical (1). At a later date this entrance was filled in with rubble and smeared over on the inside and a new doorway was made. This is approximately horseshoe-shaped, 1 foot

4 inches wide at the bottom and 2 feet 10 inches high (Fig. iv). In front of this doorway is a raised platform, common to almost all the huts and in general use among the Ba-Sotho to-day.

The front wall is of rubble set in clay and has a thickness of from 1 foot 10 inches to 2 feet 6 inches. Outside and inside it is smeared with a mixture of clay and cow dung which was renewed periodically, each time with a different colour. As a result the clay has accumulated to a thickness of several inches and in section shows up to sixty bands of alternating brown, yellow and orange. The rock face, which forms the back of the hut, is also smeared with clay. All the huts, of whatever form, are smeared with the same number of layers and it would appear, if the smearing were done annually, that the practice only started some sixty years ago.

A rock ledge at the back of the hut has been covered with clay to form a platform, about two feet high, on which pottery and other family treasures rested. In almost all the huts attached to the rear wall of the cave this platform is found and a raised mud platform still occupies a similar position in Ba-Sotho huts of to-day (2). A small clay shelf similar to that shewn in Fig. iii is attached to the wall. There is no window in this hut but a gap at the top of the wall in one corner admits a certain amount of light.

In front of hut "a" is a second hut, "b", similar to the first although the doorway has now been demolished. In the centre of the floor is an elongated oval seat of rubble smeared with clay. Such seats are not found in modern Ba-Sotho homes but they do occur in Ma-Shona huts (3). This hut also has no window and it would appear to have been built shortly after hut "a". Hut "c" is of similar pattern to the first two but it differs from them in having a "window" which is merely a circular hole in the wall, 6 inches in diameter. It is a universal feature of all the later huts at Ntlo-Kholo but it has disappeared from use elsewhere in Basutoland.

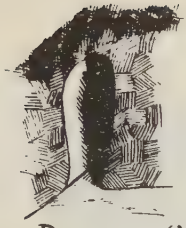
Hut group B is of very different pattern and of considerably later date apart from hut "a" which is comparable to hut "a" in group A and has a somewhat similar horseshoe-shaped doorway (Fig. i). Attached to this hut is a circular rondavel to which was added a series of almost rectangular rooms, commencing with "e", "f", "i" and "j". At this stage building apparently halted for a time as the entrances to huts "c" and "j" are flanked by low mud platforms. Then huts "h", "g", "b" and "d" were added.

The walls are exactly like those of group A. Except for hut "a" the doorways have grooves down each side to accommodate door jambs of untrimmed branches and were apparently fitted with doors of wood or reeds, high enough to admit a man without stooping. The window openings are the same small holes and the rock shelf for storing pots is found in all the huts adjoining the cave wall. Most of these platforms are wide, up to three feet, and in hut "i" two steps are provided to reach the platform (Fig. ii). The tiny clay ledges are replaced by clay shelves, copies of European wall-cupboards.

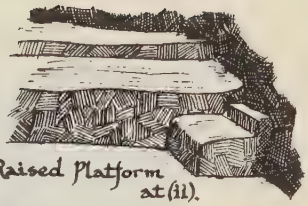
Elsewhere along the rock ledge are other huts, usually rectangular and sometimes with partly thatched roofs to bridge the gap between the top of the wall and the edge of the cave roof. Adjoining one of these rectangular huts, which is still occupied, is a hut similar to huts "a" in group A and B (Plate II). It is now used as a pigsty but it originated as a dwelling and thus conforms to a widespread feature of architectural evolution whereby the dwelling of one generation survives as an outbuilding for the next. Thus the *mohlongoafatse*, which was the normal dwelling of the Ba-Koena fifty years ago, has now been largely replaced by the rondavel but it continues to be built as a fire-hut or store-room. Similarly the corbelled stone beehive hut of the Ba-Tsoeneng is now only employed as a fire-hut, fowl hut or grain store.

Who were the builders of these strange dwellings at Ntlo-Kholo? The earliest occupants of the site were people with a Wilton culture and it was definitely the home of Bushmen when the first Bantu people, known as the Ma-Phetla or Ba-Tsoeneng, arrived about 1700. These early Bantu peoples intermarried with the Bushmen and when they reached Ntlo-Kholo their

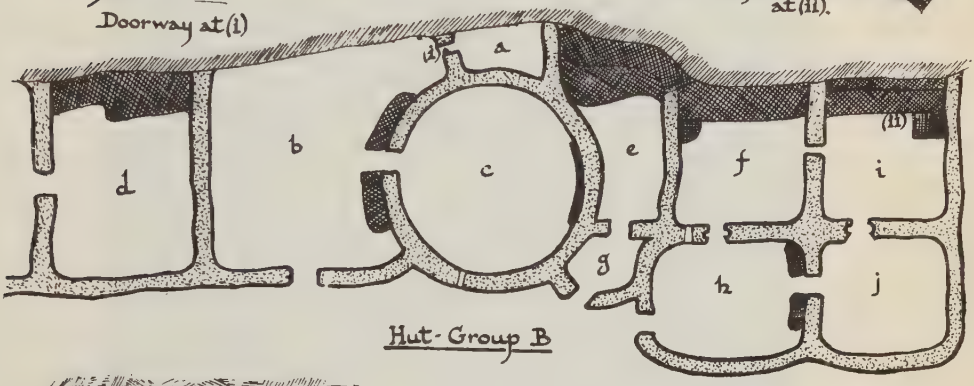
NTLO KHOLO



Doorway at (i)

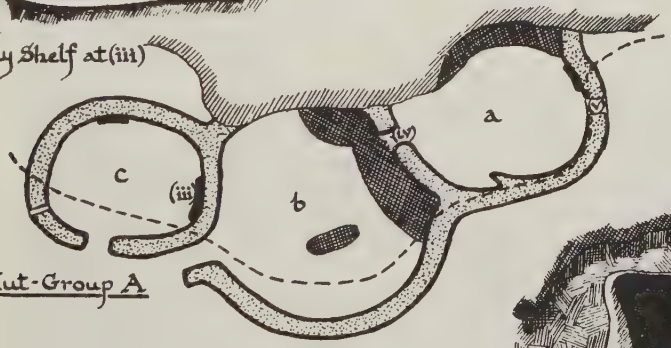


Raised Platform at (ii).

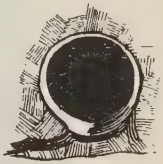


Hut-Group B

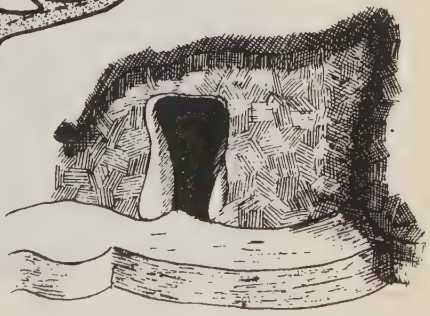
Clay Shelf at (iii)



Hut-Group A



Doorway at (v)



Doorway at (iv)

Mud
Rubble
Mud
} Walls

Raised Platforms

Shelves

Rear Wall of Cave

---- Front of Cave Roof (Drip-line)

10 0 10 20 30 feet

Scale

J. Walton

PLATE I: *The site of Ntlo-Kholo*

PLATE II : *Rectangular hut now used as a pigsty*

chief, Matelile, in deference to the wishes of his Bushman wife, occupied the cave instead of building huts. The cave, being the residence of the chief wife, was given the name of Ntlo-Kholo, "the great hut".

The Ma-Polane, who followed the Ma-Phetla into Basutoland, also lived for some time at Ntlo-Kholo. So did the Ba-Phuthi who arrived somewhere about 1740. Prior to reaching Ntlo-Kholo, however, the Ba-Phuthi met the vanguard of the Ba-Fokeng, a number of whom joined the Ba-Phuthi at Ntlo-Kholo (4). According to local tradition these Ba-Fokeng were responsible for building the first huts within the cave shelter at Ntlo-Kholo.

The occupational sequence may be summarized as follows:

1. Prior to 1700. Occupied by people with a Wilton culture and Bushmen.
2. 1700–1740. Occupied by Bushmen, Ma-Phetla and Ma-Polane.
3. 1740. Occupied by Ba-Phuthi and Ba-Fokeng. First huts built by walling-off a portion of the shelter with a semi-circular wall of rubble and mud. Small circular door, no windows, clay shelves and storage platforms.
4. Approximately circular huts. Low, narrow, horseshoe-shaped doorways, small circular windows, clay seats, shelves and storage platforms.
5. Sub-rectangular additions made. Rectangular doorways with door jambs of undressed timber. Clay ledges replaced by clay "wall-cupboards". Circular windows, clay seats flanking doorways, and clay storage platforms retained. Roofs wholly or partly thatched.
6. Rectangular huts. Only original features retained are the small circular windows and clay seats.

Dwellings formed by walling-up part of a cave also occur in other parts of Basutoland although they are later in date than those of Ntlo-Kholo. Lagden has photographed examples at Leribe and Berea (5) and there are others at Qhoasing Falls and near Sehonghong. Even to-day rock shelters are commonly employed as cattle kraals, made by constructing a wall around the front.

Stayt has described somewhat similar Ba-Venda cave dwellings from Makonde. "The small creeks and recesses in the sheer precipice have been bridged and fortified with stone masonry, making an impregnable hiding-place from which the defenders could do yeoman service with the bow and arrow, unseen by the enemy; the little balconies and recesses appear like so many swallows' nests, most of which were reached by the defenders by scrambling to their perches, with the help of monkey ropes, up the sheer face of the cliff" (6). This account is not sufficiently detailed to allow any comparison with the Ntlo-Kholo examples.

Further north, at Inyanga, cave shelters also occur. Along the cliff face are numerous small caves or deep clefts showing obvious signs of habitation. "The entrances are walled up and the crevice roofed in, and where space permits on the narrow rock ledge in front of the cave are two or three small stone hut circles, also with covered entrances. Some of these cliff dwellings are well and carefully built, the stones chosen and placed with some attempt at facing. An interesting structure on this ledge was a well-built rectangular shelter 5 ft. deep by 3 ft. wide, built up against the cliff face and entered by an opening in the roof, which was slabbed over with large flat stones. It suggested a burial place... but only a few small fragments of pottery and a few 'dassie' bones were found... this, then, may have been a storage cave. This 'built' cave was on the rock ledge already described, on which were three other circular stone huts built into the parapet wall of the ledge, or against the rock face which rose sheer above it. In one of these hut circles a small recess or cupboard had been constructed in the hut wall by careful placing of flat stones. This little rectangular 'cubby-hole' was 16 in. long, 9 in. deep and 9 in. high. Another similar recess was found in the wall of another of the built-up crevices of the particular site.

"All these shelters, though adequate for hiding or short-term occupation, are miserable as dwellings, exposed as they are to the prevailing cold south-east winds and mists.

"One isolated cave was situated under the north-facing cliff of a side gully. It was almost in the rocky bed of a steep and fast-flowing stream, and almost directly under a 40 ft. waterfall. The entrance conformed to the usual tunnel size of 2 ft. 7 in. in height and was beautifully constructed, the rest of the cave opening being walled up" (7).

There are some points of resemblance between the rock shelter dwellings of Inyanga and Ntlo-Kholo but Mr. Roger Summers informs me that the former are much more crude. He dates them provisionally between 1830 and 1890 and suggests that they were places of retreat during and immediately after the Nguni invasions (8). He also states that there are certain Ma-Shona cave tombs in the Marandelles District which display features analogous to those of Ntlo-Kholo (9).

In the majority of cases the huts within rock shelters were built there for security reasons, particularly during the early nineteenth century when the Nguni hordes were ravaging the countryside. The Ba-Sotho and Ba-Venda of to-day still often build their villages on rocky ledges which are difficult of access. With the advent of more settled conditions, however, the general tendency was to build villages at the foot of the cliff. At Inyanga, Ntlo-Kholo and in the Ba-Venda country the cave dwellers tended to settle at the foot of the cliff.

The custom of building huts within rock shelters appears to have been quite widespread amongst the Bantu whenever they settled in areas where such shelters occurred. There is no evidence, however, to indicate that dwellings of this type were the result of culture contacts or that they indicate a common source of origin. The relationships between the different groups, if any, cannot be determined until detailed studies have been made in other areas.

The value of the Ntlo-Kholo dwellings lies in the fact that they afford a picture of early Bafokeng house types and of the subsequent changes which they have undergone. Now that the older examples have ceased to be occupied they are fast falling into ruin and this description has been published as a record of these early house types.

APPENDIX

Since writing the above description of Ntlo-Kholo I have found two other cases of cave shelters having been used by early Bantu settlers. In a cave in the Dilli-dilli valley, in South Basutoland, are remains of a number of clay shelves identical with those at Ntlo-Kholo (Fig. iii).

In the "Cave of the White Hippopotamus" at Knecht's Kloof in the Koesburg Mountains, near Zastron, the lower part of the cave wall has been smeared with clay over the paintings and a clay platform remains. Huts were also built within the cave as is evident from the fragments of wall remaining. These wall fragments have a core of reeds smeared with clay on each side to a thickness of about two inches.

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THE ORIGINS OF THE BENIN BRONZES

M. D. W. JEFFREYS

SYNOPSIS

The Journal Man *in June* 1950 *pointed out that in some quarters the belief still exists that the Benin bronzes owe their origin to the craft having been introduced by the Portuguese. Evidence is here given to show that this craft was known to, and practised by, the Bini long before the arrival of the Portuguese and that the Bini derived the craft from the Yoruba. The question is then discussed as to how this craft, the* cire perdue *method of bronze casting reached West Africa.*

Cultural and traditional evidence is marshalled to show that the craft is restricted to the route ascribed to the great Kisra migration that entered Nigeria from the east via Lake Chad and Bornu.

In *Man* of June 1950 the issue is raised over the origin of the Benin bronzes and the opinion of Read and Dalton,[1] that they were due to Portugues influence, is quoted with the remark that this opinion persists to the present day. Then evidence is given of the digging up in the Oba of Benin's palace of a bronze figure with the clay core still in situ. This figure is of a man in the royal regalia of the Oni of Ife, and is thus thought to have originated in Ife. "It may be regarded as one of the missing links between the style of the Ife heads . . . and the greater stylization of the earliest of the Benin heads."[2]

I was surprised to learn that there existed any doubt of the Ife origin of the Benin bronzes because Ling Roth had in 1903 given good reasons for rejecting the Portuguese origin of these bronzes. Hambly remarked in 1935 that "the hypothesis that bronze casting was introduced into Benin by the Portuguese now finds no supporters",[3] and I shall bring evidence to eliminate all possibility of the Portuguese origins of them. Ling Roth wrote as follows:

"In the splendid series of plaques from Benin in the British Museum we find many plaques with diminutive Portuguese heads or figures in low relief in the background (Fig. 2). We may take it, I think, for granted that these additions in low relief are, like the rosettes (Fig. 4) above referred to, afterthoughts put on to meet the desire for increased artistic effect; that they are in fact, put there for decorative purposes in the course of the development of the art. Hence, as the additions are always Portuguese heads (or figures and not Bini heads (or figures) we may, I venture to think, conclude that some of the plaques of native subjects without these additions were made before those of Portugues subjects; in other words, that the art was there before the Portuguese arrived in the country, . . . We have in the bronze plaque Fig. 1 an illustration of a European, with a matchlock in the costume of the middle of the 16th century, and Messers. Read and Dalton very justly call attention to this on account of the correct delineation of the dress of the period. It is the middle of 16th century that we can fix upon as the earliest date at which it was probable that the Bini people had commenced to make plaques with *European* figures, but *not* the date at which they commenced to make any plaques at all. Benin was discovered by Sequeira, about 1472. By the middle of the 16th century (i.e. 1550) we have an almost perfectly accurate figure of a European, presumably made by a native. It is not conceivable

[1] Read, C. H. and Dalton, O. M. (1899), pp. 6, 19.
[2] Fagg, W. (1950.) p. 69.
[3] Hambly, W. D. (1935.) p. 400.

that an introduced art could have developed at so rapid a rate that within 70 years (probably less, for the art would not have been introduced the first day) such a high pitch of excellence could have been attained by the natives. As an alternative, I can only repeat, as above suggested, that the art existed in Benin prior to the advent of the Portuguese . . .[1]

As Ling Roth points out, Benin was discovered by the Portuguese about 1472. Hence if the Binis learnt this bronze metallurgy from the Portuguese it could not have happened before 1472 yet there is historical evidence that the casting of such items as the Benin bronzes was by 1472 an old established practice. Thus in 1486 when Diogo Cam returned from the Congo he brought with him to the Court of Portugal, Joao Affanso d'Aveiro and an emissary from the king of Beny.[2] From this Benin ambassador King D. Joao of Portugal learnt that "in accordance with a very ancient custom the king of Beny on ascending the throne, sends ambassadors to him [the king of Ogane] with rich gifts to announce that by the decease of his predecessor he has succeeded to the kingdom of Beny, and to request confirmation. To signify his assent, the prince Ogane sends the king a staff and a head piece of shining brass, fashioned like a Spanish helmet, in place of a crown and sceptre."[3] Dr. Talbot, whose contention is confirmed by chief J. V. Egharevba, Court Historian to the Oba of Benin, identifies Ogane with the Oni of Ife in Yorubaland. "There is little doubt that by Ogane, the Bini meant the Oni of Ife—or Awgeni of Ufe, as they termed him—whose suzerainty was still acknowledged at this time and from whom they always received the bronze masks of their deceased kings."[4]

Talbot also gives a number of other reasons for rejecting the Portuguese origins of these bronzes. "If the industry had been introduced by the Portuguese, it seems strange that nothing resembling it has been found at other places on the coast. In the fifteenth century there was no art in Portugal—or indeed throughout the whole of Europe—anything like that produced in Benin."[5]

The practice of receiving from Ife a brass face mask of the dead Oba is continued to this day but it is not realized that the bronze head replaces the human head,— a practice that could not have been introduced by the Portuguese. "According to Mr. H. N. Nevins, the head of the king of Benin is removed at death and sent to Ife,, the place of the head being taken by a model."[6] The skulls of the Alafin of Oyo are all kept in one place[7] and it is presumed that those of the Oba of Benin would likewise be preserved. It is thus quite clear from European historical sources that the metallurgy of the Benin bronzes owes nothing to the Portuguese.

The point now arises, how does this evidence and conclusion fit with Bini tradition? The tradition recorded by Mr. Roupell, an administrative officer at Benin in 1897, states king Esige claimed that he was born a white man and in his old age wished to see white men before he died, and so sent messengers with presents to a sea port and persuaded some Europeans to come. They did and finally settled at the port of Gwato some little distance from Benin. The tradition continues: "When the white men came, in the time when Esige was king, a man named *Ahammangiwa* came with them. He made brass work and plaques for the king, he stayed a very long time —he had many wives but no children—the king gave him plenty of boys to teach. We can make brass work now, but not as he made it, because he and all his boys are dead. Before King Esige died he sent one man named Iroyen to the white man's country with some white men. He stayed long, and when he returned, he brought back with him that plain stool and a message of salutation from the king of the white men . . .[8]

In the time of Osogboa [the 18th and called Orhogbua by the Bini Historian], there was a raid on Igbon and its captives were brought to Benin.

"*Osogboa* called *Ahammangiwa* and his boys, asked them if they could put them in brass.

[1] Roth, H. L. (1903.) p. 234.
[2] Crone, G. R. (1937.) p. 124.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 126.
[4] Talbot, P. A. (1925.) p. 184.
[5] Talbot, P. A. (1926.) I, p. 281.
[6] Meek, C. K. (1931.) p. 168.
[7] Frobenius, L. (1913.) I, p. 184.
[8] Read, C. H. and Dalton, O. M. (1899.) p. 6.

They said, 'We can try'; so they did, and those are they. . . . The other plaques are pictures of white men, friends of the kings and Ahammangiwa, but who they are or their names we do not know . . . [1]

On the strength of this tradition it has been assumed that *Ahammangiwa* was a Portuguese and that he had taught bronze casting to the Bini. The Oba himself claimed to be white, but then it is known that many of these ruling families in West Africa are of light coloured Hamitic stock. There is thus insufficient evidence to say that Ahammangiwa was a Portuguese. As to the conclusion that he taught the Binis the casting of brass there is evidence that they had learnt the art before from Ife. I have shown that bronze casting was done in Ife long before the Europeans had discovered Benin. According to a Bini historian, "Oba Oguola wished to introduce brass casting into Benin similar to various works of art sent him from Uhe (Ile-Ife, i.e. Ife). He therefore sent to the Oghene of Uhe for a brass smith and Igue-igha was sent to him. Igue-igha was very clever and left many designs to his successors and was in consequence deified and is worshipped to this day by brass smiths. The practise of making brass castings was originated during the reign of Oguola".[2] According to this historian Oguola reigned about 1280 A.D. and was the fifth king of the Second Period of Benin rulers. Ewuare, the Great, was the thirteenth [3] king and reigned about 1440 A.D. and in his time the first Europeans arrived. "Ewuare was the first Oba of Benin to come into contact with Europeans for Ruy de Sequeira (or Ruy de Pina) visited Benin in 1472."[4] This Bini historian places Esigie, mentioned in the previous account as the 17th Oba and as reigning about 1504 A.D. Hence there is ample evidence that the home of bronze casting, so far as Benin is concerned, was Ife whence came the magnificent Benin bronzes, and that the local smiths turned out the lower grade material depicting Portuguese soldiers and so forth.

How were all these bronzes cast? "It is clear that the method by which the greater part, and probably all, of the castings were produced is that known as the wax process, or *cire perdue*: there can be no question that by no other method could such complicated models be so satisfactorily produced. . . . Although during the reign of the late king it was forbidden to make castings of this character, yet the native workmen are still capable of reproducing, in the most exact fashion, the ancient tablets by the *cire perdue* process."[5] The bronzes dug up at Ife were cast in the same way.

Having seen that the Benin bronzes did not originate in Benin but came from Ife, can one conclude that the Ife art and craft was indigenous and original? Frobenius thinks not. "First of all, I must state that the discoveries made during the excavations and explorations by me and my friends from 1910 to 1912 in Ife or Yoruba in general, disclosed nothing affording a clue for thinking that this great skill in art had been developed autogenetically, i.e. spontaneously in the country itself."[6] This conclusion fits in with the traditional culture history of the Yoruba.

Yoruba tradition is that they came from the east. "The Yorubas are said to have sprung from Lamurudu one of the the kings of Mecca whose offspring were: Oduduwa, the ancestor of the Yorubas, the Kings of Gogabiri and of the Kukawa, two tribes in the Hausa territory . . . "[7] Another tradition obtained by Clapperton from Sultan Belo ran as follows. "The inhabtants of this province (Yarba) it is supposed, originated from the remnant of the children of Canaan who were of the tribe of Nimrod. The cause of their establishment in the West of Africa was, as it is stated, in consequence of their being driven by Yar-rooba, son of Kahtan, out of Arabia to the Western Coast between Egypt and Abyssinia. From that spot they advanced into the interior of Africa, till they reached Yarba where they fixed their residence. On their way they left in every place they stopped at, a tribe of their own people.

[1] *Ibid.* (1899.) p. 6. [2] EGHAREVBA, J. V. (1936.) p. 18.
[3] EGHAREVBA, J. V. (1936.) p. 83.
[4] EGHAREVBA, J. V. (1936.) p. 83.
[5] READ, C. H. and DALTON, O. M. (1899.) p. 16.
[6] FROBENIUS, L. (1913.) I, p. 316.
[7] JOHNSON, O. (1921.) p. 3.

Thus it is supposed that all the tribes of the Sudan who inhabit the mountains are originated from them as also are the inhabitants of Ya-ory. Upon the whole, the people of Yarba are nearly of the same description as those of the Noofe (Nupe)."[1]

The Yoruba historian, Johnson, identifies Lamurudu with Nimrod.[2]

Anthropologists have repeatedly noted that the ruling dynasties in Africa are often of a stock different from that of their subjects. Among West African tribes descent of the ruling dynasty is often claimed as having come from Egypt or Arabia. Meek is of the opinion that the brass-work of West Africa was introduced by the Arabs.[3] He points out that the *cire perdue* method of casting was the method used. It was also the method used in ancient Egypt which got the craft from the east.[4] "The *cire perdue* method was commonly employed by the Hausa and some of the more advanced pagan tribes . . . This method was practised even by the Munshi . . . The Munshi are well known for their brass-work, as are also the Nupe."[5]

"The Bachama and Bata, like the Bura of Bornu, make brass pipes and ornaments by the *cire perdue* method, the industry being in the hands of the Killa Clan . . . "[6]

Some of the best brass-casting by this method is done by the Bamum metal workers in the French Cameroons. Bamum traditions show that they are migrants from the environs of Bornu. "L. W. G. Malcom's statement that the chief of Bamum described the art as an adoption from an invading people from the north-east, agrees with all that is known and surmised about the drift of tribes and cultural traits in north and west Africa."[7]

An examination of the places where to-day bronze or brass casting by the *cire-perdue* method is still conducted shows that they lie along a route which is associated with the tradition of the Kisra migration. As the Kabba province lay in the line of that migration one finds that, "tradition places the origin of brass casting in this locality, though but little is made now. The belief that the art was not introduced from Europe is supported by the fact that the old West-African bronzes have a different amalgam to European formula." [8]

"The west African distribution of the lost-wax process renders a number of independent origins unlikely, since the places of occurrence lie on a line of racial migrations that are more than a conjecture. Flinders Petrie calls attention to the beating of copper vessels in predynastic Egypt. A life-size statue of King Pepy, with hands and feet cast by the lost-wax process, provides an example of casting in the ninth dynasty, and archaeological evidence indicates that bronze was cast by the lost-wax process in dynasty XVIII, about 1600 B.C."[9]

A brief glance at the Kisra tradition is necessary because it is generally accepted by archaeologists that though the *cire perdue* method of casting was a western Asiatic invention, it was well established in Egypt about 1600 B.C.

"It is the fashion among most of the more important West-African tribes, Muslim or pagan, to claim Arabia, or sometimes Egypt, as the original home of the tribe, the tradition usually being, in Nigeria, that a mighty magician-king named Kisira (in some cases identified with Lamerudu, i.e. Nimrod) was driven out of Arabia by the Prophet and founded a succession of pagan states throughout the Western Soudan. The Jukun, though they state that they have been told that their forefathers came from the East, from Birnin Masr, Mecca or East of Mecca, have no knowledge of the Kisira tradition. But in districts where the tradition exists or is recorded in writing, Kororofa and Wukari are usually mentioned as having been founded by descendants of Kisira . . . The Wukari, Pindiga and Kona tradition appears to be that the Jukun came from the East, the Yemen in particular being sometimes mentioned, in company with the Kanuri, with whom they travelled (via Wadai) to Ngasrogomo, a former capital of Bornu. Here a quarrel on the subject of the succession to the

[1] Denham, D. and Clapperton, H. (1826.) II, p. 402.
[2] Johnson, O. (1921.) p. 6.
[3] Meek, C. K. I, p. 53.
[4] Lucas, A. (1948.)p. 254.
[5] Meek, C. K. (1925.) I, p. 155.
[6] Meek, C. K. (1931.) I, p. 23.
[7] Hambly, W. D. (1935.) p. 480.
[8] Temple, O. and C. L. (1922.) p. 462.
[9] Hambly, W. D. (1935.) p. 400.

kingship led to a partition of the tribe, the Kanuri remaining in Bornu and the Jukun passing on to Pindiga, Kona, Kororofa and Wukari. There are numerous variations of this story. It is asserted, for example, that the chiefdom of Biu was founded by members of the Jukun group which seceded from the Kanuri, and the Pindiga tradition would have it that the various Bolewa states were also of Jukun foundation. On the other hand, the Kona tribe claims that the chiefs of the Bata and Bachama belonged originally to the same tribal stock as the Jukun who, after separating from the Kanuri, proceeded down the Benue to Kororofa, some elements even proceeding later to Ida whence they drove out the Yoruba rulers and established the kingdom of Igala. Among the Jibu group of Jukun the tradition is that the Jukun (including the Jibu) formed part of a great migration from the east in which the Chamba were included. Eastwards of the Benue the migrants divided, the main body of the Jukun entering Bornu while the Jibu and Chamba worked their way south west. . . . A manuscript in the possession of the Alkali of Fika, which purports to record the history of Kano, also suggests a connection between Kano and Kororofa. For it is stated that Kano was founded by 'remnants of the people of Lamerudu', and that some of these people, under the leadership of Aku Mabu, went and founded Kororofa."[1]

So far, all the evidence is traditionary and is thus subject, (a) to distortion; (b) to appropriation by peoples who wish to shine by reflected glory as it were, and the question arises is there not some corroborating evidence that will weld all this information together. The answer is yes; a study of the esotoric cults of these various peoples shows such a high standard of correlation and uniformity that this learnt behaviour could only have been acquired from a common source. A study of the central mystery of each tribe, the coronation ceremony whereby a mortal man is turned into an immortal spirit, shows "an essential uniformity of culture among the Bini, the Yoruba, the Igala, the Ibo and the Jukun,[2] and it is in this group who all claim that their culture came from the east that the *cire perdue* method of casting is found.

The tradition of a great migration from the east connected with Kisira = Lamerudu = Nimrod is of great importance in solving the origins of the Benin bronzes. We have seen that the Benin bronzes were in existence before the Portuguese had reached Benin ; that they were of the *cire perdue* casting technique which was in use in Egypt by 1600 B.C. and continued in use there; that they came from Ife; that the Yorubas of Ife have a tradition of coming from the east under Lamerudu as a result of feud in Mecca; that a legendary figure under the name of Lamerudu, or Kisira, or Nimrod is also claimed as the founder of many of the present states along this migration; that among these peoples is found a divine king whose coronation ritual and ceremony is uniformly the same and that only among such peoples or those influenced by them is casting by the *cire pedue* method found to-day.

The date of this Kisra migration is important. "The Kakau of Songhai assert that about A.D. 600 there was a great migration from east to west across the Sudan called the Kisra migration."[3] Arkell draws attention to two bronze lamps made by the *cire perdue* method, dug up in the Gold Coast in 1936 from an old grave. "Enough has been said to show that there can be no doubt that the prototypes of these Gold Coast lamps came probably from Egypt and date from the 5th–7th centuries. A.D."[4]

This dating for these bronze lamps from the Gold Coast fits in with that of the Kisra migration.

In other words, enough evidence has been marshalled to destroy the myth of the Portuguese origins of the Benin bronzes and to indicate that the craft came into Nigeria from the east, probably in the time of the great migration attributed to the leadership of Kisira.[5]

[1] MEEK, C. K. (1931.) p. 23.
[2] JEFFREYS, M. D. W. (1934.) p. 354.
[3] MATHEWS, A. P. (1950.) p. 144.
[4] ARKELL, A. J. (1950.) p. 40.
[5] MATHEWS, A. P. (1950.) p. 144.

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NOTE

African Abstracts, a quarterly review, devoted to ethnological, social and linguistic studies, commenced publication in January 1950, edited by Professor Daryll Forde. It provides a systematic survey of all significant articles in this field appearing in current periodicals. The abstracts are printed in either English or French. International coverage is assured by the enlistment of abstractors resident in Europe, the United States and South Africa as well as in Great Britain, each national group of abstractors being jointly responsible for perusing all relevant periodicals. The abstractors are qualified anthropologists and linguists.

The first volume of the review, devoted to articles published in 1948 and 1949, contains abstracts of 618 articles from 113 periodicals published in 25 countries. Reviewers have stressed the value to all those concerned with human problems in Africa of 'the vast store of information' contained in each issue of AFRICAN ABSTRACTS, which enables subscribers to cover the rapidly growing and widely scattered periodical literature in this field. Readers are able to scan through the synopses culled from a wide range of journals they would not in the ordinary way see. If details of any article so contracted are required, the journal itself can then be consulted. Thus a great saving of time is effected. This service has been set up with the assistance of a generous grant from UNESCO. We understand that its survival after the termination of this grant will depend on a considerable increase in the present number of subscribers. The subsription is 26/- per annum.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Children of Hari. Father STEPHEN FUCHS. (Verlag Herold, Vienna: 1950.) xviii + 463 pp., maps, figures, photographs, glossary. Price not stated.

This book bears the title *The Children* of *Hari* (that is, of God), because the Balahis themselves claim to be descendants of Hari. Moreover, the late Mahatma Gandhi, great champion for the cause of the Depressed Classes in India, liked to call them "Harijan", which has the same meaning as "Children of Hari". The name "The Children of Hari" which Gandhi meant to be a honorific title for the Depressed Classes in general applies therefore to the Balahis in a double sense.

Father Fuchs' book is a study of an untouchable caste, or more exactly, a fragment of an important untouchable caste. War conditions prevented him from visiting and studying the whole area where Balahis live, and he therefore deliberately limited his study to the Balahis of the Nimar District of the Central Provinces among whom he spent over ten years. Speaking their language and living among them he was able to win their confidence, and his work is concrete proof of the potentialities of the anthropological approach, that is, the combination of verbal inquiry with direct observation, for the study of Indian rural communities.

A number of anthropological studies of Indian aboriginal tribes have in recent years roused interest in the primitive tribes of the subcontinent both among scholars and the general public. But towards the more numerous and equally interesting untouchable and low castes of India there prevails still a good deal of indifference in anthropological circles. This is rather astonishing because it is just from these pre-Aryan races that the Hindu castes must in the course of centuries have assimilated many customs and usages which are to-day regarded as genuine Hindu traditions. For a sound understanding and true interpretation of Indian religion, culture, and history, a detailed and comprehensive study of the customs and traditions of all Indian castes, but in particular of the non-Aryan low castes, is an imperative need. The study of such castes will open new vistas and solve many problems and puzzles which so far have been the despair of Indologists.

A number of general surveys of Indian castes and tribes have been compiled under the auspices of the Governments of Provinces and States. While these surveys are admirable in their intention and are, as a whole, a veritable treasure-mine for anthropologists and other scholars, it cannot be denied that the time has come when these compilations must be reinforced by more detailed and exact studies of individual castes and tribes. For these encyclopedic descriptions have for the most part been written not by trained anthropologists, but by well-meaning, yet not always qualified, administrative officials. Anybody who reads what the authors of *The Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces* have written on, for instance, the Balahis, will endorse this criticism.

Father Fuchs' work has therefore the distinction of being one of the few really comprehensive accounts of castes belonging to the lowest stratum of Indian society.

No attempt has been made in this book to discuss the origin of the untouchable castes in general, and it would indeed have been unwise to burden the descriptive account of a single caste with the attempt to unravel so involved a problem; although sooner or later the historical position of the Depressed Classes will have to be clarified. The study covers the economic, social and religious life of the Balahis, a weavers' caste in the Nimar District of the Central Provinces of India, and gives a detailed and comprehensive picture of the life and lore of a pre-Aryan people, revealing below the drabness and poverty of their lives the substance of a complex picture as worthy of the anthropologist's attention as that of any tribal people.

The note of warning struck by the author on

the last pages of the book should not be ignored. Unless Hindu society radically modifies its attitude towards the untouchables they will be tempted to join any political movement that aims at the disruption of the present social order. To-day the great mass of the untouchables may be too uneducated and too helpless to constitute a political force, but in the long run a class of sixty million people cannot be ignored. As yet few of them aspire to more than admittance to Hindu society on equal terms and to subsequent assimilation. But if baulked of this aim, they are likely to turn against a society which has condemned them to a role of permanent inferiority, and to support any revolutionary movement which promises to better their prospects.

The greatest bar to the progress of the untouchables in rural areas—conditions in the modern industrial towns are very different—is the prejudice on the part of the other communities. Such prejudice, rooted in tradition, can be overcome only by the understanding of customs and values other than those of one's own culture, and it is by creating the basis of such understanding that anthropology can contribute to the promotion of tolerance between the communities. Books like Father Fuch's *The Children of Hari* should exert a stimulating and constructive influence on contemporary social consciousness and thus help the cause of the people whose life and culture are described in their pages. L. L.

Die Bambuti-Pygmaen vom Ituri. Ergebnisse zweier Forschungsreisen zu den Zentralafrikanischen Pygmäen. PAUL SCHEBETSA, S.V.D. (Boekhandel Folk Zoon, Brussel: 1941.) In drei Bänden: III xii +284, pp., in 4to.

After having dealt with economics and sociology in vols. I and II. in his vol. III Schebesta offers material on religion collected in several expenditions to the Pygmies in the Congo area.

Very little is known even to-day about the Pygmies' religion as Schebesta shows, by dealing with all investigations previously made on this subject.

Schebesta, after his profound study of the Semang in Malaya, has likewise studied the African Pygmies and he finds a distinct difference in their outlook on life. The African Pygmies are less religious. They enjoy their daily life, being specially fond of dancing. This mentality may explain why their cult contains few ceremonies and why it is difficult to separate life and cult from each other and to investigate the latter. Only during his second research while living with them was Schebesta able to gather fuller information. As a result he could now make a start to depict their religion systematically. Yet he admits that his researches are still incomplete, nevertheless he has enriched our knowledge of Pygmies' mythology in a high degree. He alludes to many of the Pygmies' myths and religious items.

The Pygmy religious system is the main part of this publication. Only as a larger introduction (pp. 13–117), merely to give complete evidence of the steps taken during his researches he first describes what he calls the materials of Bambuti religion: belief in God, their cult as well as manism and magic.

Not everybody will find this book easy reading because of the mass of items, mythologies, comparisons, although each item is of interest as well as the whole. Therefore it is regretable that the index for the three volumes published in this one is meagre and incomplete. The subject is not indexed as often as it is mentioned in the text e.g. "serpent" "python". Therefore the summary at the end of the book will be very welcome to the reader. It repeats shortly the author's conclusions.

Schebesta, after his second research is convinced, that the Pygmies' belief is based entirely on *megbe* or *unguma bongisa*, *elima* (p. 216) = belief in a life-power emanating from God, the High Deity. This life-power is, however, worshipped as "God of the Bush" or protector of Hunters, in the same way as the Bushmen worship "Heikum". Their belief is not a pantheistic-dynamic conception of God but a theistic one and it revolves round a High Deity, who is believed to be a person called "Father". As is usual among Negro religions, this High God has no cult and is forgotten in practical life. The

"bush god" is worshipped and receives primitial and reconcilial offerings. Manism and animism are of no importance but magic is an essential part of their religion, and mystical practices are used to obtain *megbe*.

Schebesta's remarks are interesting on the connexion between the cult of the Pygmies and those of the Negroes and Bushmen. He has something new to say on it.

He gives etymologies of mythological terms and is able to state that the linguistic roots of the three most widely spread African names of deities (*jambi*, *tore-mbali*, *mungu* (*mulanga*)) are used in the Ituri-Bambuti language. These terms are according to him, not new but are of old mythical origin. All these three deities, each predominant in a certain geographical area, are identified with the moon. Therefore Schebesta suggests that these three cultural strata migrated from the upper Ituri. The problem of the origin of these cultures and their way of migration he, however, does not discuss. (p. 124)

From his studies on the rudiments of the Pygmy languages and according to the above mentioned connexions Schebesta believes that now the problem of the Pygmies' languages will be solved. He thinks that it is possible that the African languages developed from an original Pygmy language: migration to the South developing the Bantu languages; migrations to the North developing the Sudanic languages (p. 148 ff). Hence the influence of the Pygmies seems to be more important than anthropologists had until now thought.

Affinities of Pygmies to the Bushmen are always stressed. They are so numerous, that one may speak of a genetic connexion with each other. The dynamic idea of the mythology among Pygmies and Bushmen as well as among Negroes, is very similar, probably due to one or two migrations passing over Africa bringing with them these mythologies and influencing the different religions.

The most important difference between Pygmies and Negroes is in the belief of the "bush-god"—unknown to the Negroes as well as in the cult of the dead—unknown to the Pygmies.

A. SCHMIDT.

L'Ecriture des Bamum. I. DUGAST and M. D. W. JEFFREYS, (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Centre du Cameroun, Série Populations, No. 4, 1950.) 109 pp.

When Dr. Jeffreys left the "Cameroons" in 1945 he had collected, over a period of five years, a large amount of most valuable material concerning the written form of the Mum language which had been evolved by the sustained efforts of the late "Sultan" Njoya. Before this time there had been sporadic and incomplete accounts of this indigenous writing both published and reported, the most serious studies having been made by Göhring, van Gennep, Clapot, Delafosse, Malcolm and Labouret; but none of these was able to present such complete material as Jeffreys had collected. It was very fortunate that at this juncture Jeffreys was able to hand over his work, as far as he had carried it, to Madame Dugast who, since that time, has pursued the research in a thoroughly scientific manner with painstaking care and detail. The book before us now is the result of this research, and is a most creditable piece of work.

Sultan Njoya of Foumban, it seems, stimulated by a dream, invented the first type of Mum writing between 1895 and 1896, when he was a young man under thirty years of age. The first alphabet he produced was highly pictographic and contained over 500 signs. With this invention Njoya roused the interest of numbers of his people, and even used compulsion with his councillors so that the writing was learned and used; but as time passed the real scientific instincts of this remarkable man revealed themselves, and he went on improving and altering his alphabets. The second alphabet (about 1900) was reduced to 437 signs, still pictographic; and a third, now reduced to about 380 signs began to take cognizance of the syllable as a basis for the symbols. Improvement followed improvement, in which he was encouraged by the Basel missionary Göhring. The fifth alphabet put out, though providing signs for tonal pairs and homonyms, was still defective; and it was evident that Nos. 3, 4 and 5 were used alongside one

another for a number of years. The various alphabets were referred to by their initial signs.

After 1910 came the sixth, and this was a big step forward. A fully syllabic system was followed, and the signs by this time were reduced to 80, including the 10 numerals. This was called *a ka u ku;* from it the pictograph had really disappeared; in addition to the ordinary writing, an ornate style of signs was also developed for court use. The final alphabet, the seventh, was Njoya's greatest feat; in this he reached the phonetic stage. Of this Madame Dugast wrote: "Admirons le génie phonétique dont fit preuve Njoya lorsqu'il trouva à exprimer un coup de glotte par une consonne plosive. La solution qu'il donna à ce cas de détail était la seule qui fût exacte et heureuse: elle était digne d'un vrai phonéticien."

In this publication facsimiles of each of the alphabets are given, the history connected with their invention traced, and the symbols carefully analysed and discussed. In this work Madame Dugast was fortunate to have the help of several men who were accustomed to the writing and its uses. Most detailed consideration, however, is naturally given to the final alphabet, called *mfɛmfɛ*. Of this pages 34–62 give a detailed and scholarly analysis from the phonetic angle. Nevertheless all the signs used in all the alphabets are dealt with comparatively with full explanations of pronunciation and meaning in pages 73–98. Chapter III deals with a description of certain considerable works written in this script, a *History and Customs of the Bamum*, a religious book entitled "*nuət ŋkwətə*", a book of medicine with a local pharmacopoeia, and a map of the country.

One most interesting little piece of history dealt with the efforts of the artisan Monliper to make a species of moveable type for the Sultan to use in printing books in his written form, and how, after he had achieved success after seven years of labour, in a fit of fury the Sultan destroyed the whole work.

We congratulate both Dr. Jeffreys and Madame Dugast on this valuable addition to our knowledge of indigenous African writing inventions. Through their efforts most valuable data have been saved and dealt with in a most satisfactory manner.

C.M.D.

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